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Title

The Response of The Church of Scotland (Auld Kirk)
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reference to the work of The Christian Life and
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ABSTRACT

The development and structure of The Church of Scotland (The Auld Kirk) during the period 1869 - 1914 was crucial for its future success or failure in the 20th century. It was during this period that there was a realisation within the Church that Scotland had changed radically in several ways; a basically rural community had now become influenced by the industrialisation process which created problems of population movement, deprivation and squalor in the large cities, and the loosening of traditional links with the established Church.

The Christian Life and Work Committee of The Church of Scotland, under the influence of The Reverend Professor Archibald Hamilton Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University, sought to analyse the problems, and to provide some of the answers for the age.

Its method and practice was to send out 'Queries' to Presbyteries and Parishes, and then bring before the General Assembly positive actions to be taken, to create a missionary Church, relating the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the condition of the people.

From the first tentative proposals in the early 1870's came a programme for re-structuring the Church and creating organisations and activities for the members. Its concept of mission transformed the Auld Kirk with a new evangelical

fervour, and a series of practical enterprises of which the Deaconess Training Centre and Hospital were the highlights.

The success of the Committee, if judged by its influence on the Church, was immense, and the present organisation of the Church of Scotland can be traced to the decisions taken during the 1875 - 89 period. However, with hindsight it is possible to see that the Auld Kirk, along with the other denominations in Scotland, was unable to ask the basic theological questions concerning the nature of the Church in its relationship to capitalism, work and poverty. It touched upon some of the issues when it discussed 'alienation' of the poor, but it was unable to move from its traditional theological position which regarded poverty as a sin, and thrift as a virtue. It was this inability to relate the Gospel to the needs of the people, which resulted in the Church losing the working class.

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1. INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME

The period 1870 - 1914 has been chosen for this study, for it marks the peak of the industrialisation process in Scotland, and the start of the social changes which were to shape Scottish society into the first fifty years of the 20th century. It was during this time that the Church of Scotland (The Auld Kirk) responded to social conditions. It created The Christian Life and Work Committee in an attempt to relate to the population in the industrial areas. There was a growing awareness that the result of industrialisation was alienation of the people from the ordinances of religion. The Christian Life and Work Committee, convened by The Reverend Professor A H Charteris, sought to win back the masses, and embarked upon a programme of analysing the problems by issuing a series of 'Queries' to Presbyteries and Parishes. The answers, in part, provided the basis for the new structure and organisation within the Parishes of the Church of Scotland.

The Method used in the research is as follows:

In Part I consideration has been made of the social, economic and industrial life, along with the development of literature, music, and art, as well as the religious life, in an attempt to discover the background in which the Christian Life and Work

Committee existed.

In an age of growing industrial life and wealth, it is essential to see how the arts and religion responded to the changing patterns of life. Were they content to ignore the de-humanisation of the people, and resort to an idyllic interpretation of life which did not exist, or did they compromise? Undoubtedly the Christian Life and Work Committee was influenced by the cultural mores of its age. This is reflected later, as the Committee became a powerful one within the General Assembly, and proposed deliverances about literature for the people.

Part I is a commentary on the period, or perhaps more an exploration to discover the living conditions, the working life, and the cultural life of the time.

Part II is entitled The Response of The Church of Scotland (The Auld Kirk). It considers the life of The Reverend Professor Archibald Hamilton Charteris D.D. LL.D. Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh; Chaplain to Queen Victoria and King Edward, one of the Deans of The Chapel Royal of Scotland, and Moderator of The General Assembly of 1892. It was Professor Charteris, along with others, who moved the Overture in the General Assembly of 1869 from which followed the creation of The Christian Life and Work Committee. His theological position is stated in the The Baird Lectures delivered by him in 1887, entitled 'The Church of Christ',

and can be considered as the rationale for the functioning of the Committee.

The Reports and Deliverances of The Christian Life and Work Committee to the General Assembly from 1869 - 1914 have been read and summarised in Part II. These Reports and Deliverances record in turn the activity of the Committee during the preceding year, and the accepted deliberations of the General Assembly for the future direction of the Committee. The Christian Life and Work Committee also stimulated The General Assembly and Presbyteries to investigate other matters outwith its scope relating to social conditions and religious life, and those Reports have also been read and summarised.

It has not been thought necessary to read the verbatim reports of successive General Assembly debates, as the research is concerned with the actions taken by the Committee, as expressed in the Deliverances of The General Assembly.

Part II concludes with a short section on the Theological Response of The Church to the age.

Part III of the research project is an analysis of the situation. 'Alienation' and its definition is explained and the causes of alienation examined. Is 'alienation' only a response of the working classes to the Church or can the Church be accused of 'alienation' because of its theology and attitudes?

The Protestant Ethic is examined in its relationship to work, and the final section of Part III assesses the role of the Church in society, and the conflicts it faces in every age. Is the Church seen as a bastion of privilege in society, always accepting the 'establishment' view, or is it a community of the world which identifies with the hopes and aspirations of the people?

This final section attempts to relate the research to some of the issues which face the Church to-day.

Throughout the research there is a growing awareness that the task of The Christian Life and Work Committee was immense, and its successes and failures were bound up with the charismatic personality of the Reverend Professor A H Charteris. After his death the impetus of the Committee disappeared and the questions he had asked in the 1880's were being asked again in the early 1900's without any positive solutions.

2. PART ONE CHANGE THE CHANGING SCENE IN SCOTLAND

a.) SOCIAL

"The Commission are of the opinion that great advantages would accrue if mortuaries were established by the Corporation"

"There is nothing more pathetic than the idea of people sleeping and eating in a single room, where lies the cold corpse of one dear and valued".

Report of Commission
On The Housing of The Poor.
In Relation to their social
condition.

Glasow Presbytery
1891.

The Kirk Session Minutes for the 12th June 1860, of St. Bernard's Church, Edinburgh include the following extract:

'Helen Gourlay residing at Brunswick Street, Edinburgh widow of William Gourlay who at the time of his death was employed as a Keeper at Saughtonhall Lunatic Asylum, and made confession that after her husband's death, about four years ago she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter of which Archibald Waddell residing in Glasgow, then and now a widower is the father. That she is desirous to have the rite of baptism administered to her said child and having privately spoken to the Moderator, and now in the presence of the Session expressed her deep sorrow for the sin of which she had been guilty, the Moderator in the name of the Session did absolve her from the scandal of her sin, and restore her to the privileges of the Church and appoint the ordinance of Baptism to be administered to her child on the afternoon of Sabbath first.'

(Kirk Session Minutes, St. Bernards 1860)

If the daughter of Helen Gourlay and Archibald Waddell lived until seventy, she would have witnessed a complete change in social, economic, cultural and religious attitudes within her life-time. By 1870 her mother would not have been expected to appear before the Kirk Session, and an interview with the minister would have sufficed to arrange the baptism. Her school was controlled by the Church and

a local committee, but in 1872, after she had left, the Education Act altered the direction of education in Scotland and placed the Parish Church on the periphery of its activity. It is possible that she attended one of Moody and Sankey's rallies held in Edinburgh in 1873, and by 1879, if she was a member of the Church of Scotland, she would be reading the first edition of Life and Work, the magazine and journal of the Established Church.

At St. Bernard's there was a sewing class, savings bank, and library that she could attend and use, for under the ministry of John McMurtie (1866) the Church had developed a social consciousness which was unique in Scotland.

By the time the illegitimate child reached the age of 44, the capitalist economy had taken root.

During the period 1870 - 1914 the population of Scotland increased from 3,360,018 to 5,006,689, and it is possible that she might have given birth to three or four children of her own, one of which may have died from scarlet fever or a cholera epidemic. In 1870 there was a revival of smallpox and this resulted in the compulsory vaccination of all children.

Her home would probably not be more than two rooms for, in 1861, 72% of Scottish families lived in houses of

not more than two rooms. Dysentery, typhus and T.B. were rife. By 1911, 47-49% of the population lived in one roomed or two roomed dwelling houses.

Under Lord Provost William Chambers, Edinburgh started its 'Improvement' schemes of housing in the old town. Tenements were demolished and the old blocks of flats in the High Street and surrounds were replaced by modern homes.

Drink played an important part in the life of the working class, and shaped the attitudes of the middle class. For the working class it was an escape from intolerable social conditions.

"Scottish levels of consumption and Scottish drinking patterns were not social but aimed at oblivion"

('Life in Scotland' - Rosalind Mitchison)

P153

Many people in the towns were under fed. Nutritional levels were low, and the lack of scientific knowledge about diets limited any progress in the relationship between physique and health. Photographs and prints of the period show small children, drabbly dressed, looking under-nourished, and usually one or two are handicapped.

"A group of doctors looking into the food of the poor in Edinburgh in 1902 suggested that in the dietaries of the poorer classes the fats should be cut down as much as possible and the energy should, as far as the digestion will allow be supplied in carbohydrates. They went on to lament the recent changes: 'the reasons of the disuse of porridge is to be found in the lazy habits of the labouring classes'. On the carbohydrate issue the poor knew better than their betters that they needed something else, and if on a largely carbohydrate diet, and not enough of that, they were lazy, sympathy would seem more appropriate than disapproval. It was unreasonable to expect this section of society to reduce an already inadequate diet to pay for better housing, and if the response of such people was to seek the quick way out of alcohol, one should not be surprised."

('Life in Scotland' - P154)

Sexual morality amongst the poorer classes was a cause of Victorian concern. Scotland had the highest illegitimate birth rate in the United Kingdom, but it has been suggested that this was more a reflection of a sub-culture than the deliberate breaking of the moral code. Marriage was expensive, and in an age of very low wages, bad housing, and a future with little opportunity to improve one's lot it was not regarded as a priority. The doctrinal statements of

The Westminster Confession and the Westminster Catechisms still remained the traditional theological position, but in practice there were changes taking place which made the Church and the ministers far more tolerant than the statements permitted.

"The 19th century Scottish Churches said a great deal about topics related to sex, marriage and the family, but little theological thinking seems to have lain behind it. Most of the theological points the Churches made were already summed up by the Westminster Confession chapter on marriage and divorce, and the Westminster Catechism's answers to their questions on the fifth and seventh Commandments. Two centuries after the General Assembly had adopted these statements, its successors saw little need to change them."

('Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex,)

Marriage and Family 1850 - 1914' -

Kenneth M Boyd)

The Education Act of 1872 removed the active participation of the Church in the life of the schools, and handed them over to the local authority. The Royal High School in Edinburgh has passed through many changes in its 900 year history, including the unfortunate incidents when a Baillie was murdered for refusing to grant a holiday (1595) and when the Bishop of Saint Andrews decided to lodge in the premises used by the

pupils (1569)

"The baillies and counsall understand the Bishop of Sanct Andres lusing in the Freir Wynd, where presentlie is the grammar schule, to be sa ruynous that the samyn shall nocht be habitable for the wynter following without the greit danger and perell of the bairnis."

(P22 The Royal High School
History Ross)

By 1873 an attempt was made to up-date the curriculum and give 'a thorough modern education' which would be suitable for commerce and business, and not just University entrance. But the twenty two school rules, read out at the beginning of every new session, still concluded with the words

"You are entreated to bear carefully in mind the spirit in which these Regulations are framed, and the great objects which they are intended to serve. Our highest delight is to train your youthful minds, and to accustom you to such habits of intellectual and moral discipline, that you shall go forth from our halls fitted and prepared by your acquirements and your virtues, to maintain and extend the fame of your Alma Mater, to prove valuable members of the commonwealth, and to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.

(School Rules P145 The Royal High School
William C A Ross).

The period 1870 - 1914 was a period of social change created by the industrialisation process, which led to population movement and the growth of the large city. It was a period of changing attitudes, so that by 1914 Helen Gourlay's daughter would have been accepted into the community of her peers in her own right.

Victorian class consciousness was being slowly eroded, and the growth of the Socialist Movement and the Co-operative societies were creating an area for progress by the working and artisan class.

The Great War in 1914 - 18 was to hasten the social change.

"When I left England in 1911' contraceptives were hard to buy outside London or other large cities. By 1919 every village chemist was selling them"- so commented Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart . ('Your England' 1955)

If Helen Gourlay's illegitimate daughter had read the above comment, she may have reflected that the Kirk Session of St. Bernards would not have had her mother appear before them, for changing social attitudes had influenced sexual relationships before the daughter died.

b) ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL

"In practice neither Chartism nor trade Unions offered much of a challenge to a vigorous capitalist economy run by an aggressively self confident middle class with a monopoly of the effective media of communication from pulpit to press".

('An Economic History of Modern Scotland
1660 - 1976'

Bruce Lenman)

The economic and industrial life of Scotland changed radically during the life-time of Helen Gurlay's daughter. The foreign investment in Scotland in 1870 was £60 million, and in 1914 it was £500 million. Although she was unlikely to be aware of the financial arrangements of industry, she would see the growth of the steel works, the development and expansion of road and rail communications, the new buildings required to house the population in the cities. She would know about the Trade Union Movement, and possibly be a member of the local co-operative store.

"Between 1840 and 1914 post union Scotland scaled the heights of relative economic success. It became the seat of one of the most advanced and prosperous industrial economies of the period. Not all of Scotland shared this experience. On the contrary, Gaelic speaking Scotland suffered economic crisis, mass depopulation and cultural collapse..... Lowland Scotland which was in contemporary terms a very successful industrial economy paid a heavy price in terms of deprivation, suffering and social tension, for its achievements".

('An Economic History of Modern Scotland' -

Bruce Lenman P156)

Coal and Steel are the two major industries associated with the industrial heartland of Scotland - the central belt. When those industries prospered, then Scotland prospered in jobs and capital, but when those two industries slumped then labour force and capital suffered.

Before 1870 coal production had risen steadily, but between 1870 and 1914 it increased rapidly, by just about three hundred percent.

SCOTTISH COAL OUTPUT

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TONS (MILLIONS)</u>
1870	14.9
1885	21.3
1890	24.3
1900	33.1
1914	38.8

Source - Mitchell and Deane

'Abstract of British Historical Statistics'

The Steel Industry, labour intensive like the mines, and progressive in using new methods of production was the largest employer by 1907 with a total of 230,691 in its labour force and a production value of £61,513. The output rose from 241,000 tons in 1885 to 964,000 tons in 1900.

Coal and Steel became the basis of industrial growth in Scotland. Ship-building on the Clyde made it world famous, and 'Clyde-built' became an acknowledgement of perfection. In 1867 Singer opened a factory in Glasgow, and expanded it into an industrial complex at Clydebank in the early 1880's.

The building industry expanded during the 1870's and 1890's, but it did not manage to overcome the problems of overcrowding in the industrial centres. Paisley in 1870 had 42% of its families living in one room, Dundee had 37% and Aberdeen 35%, with Edinburgh and Glasgow having 34%.

There was a growth in consumer industries, especially that of domestic commerce, especially in the towns where the small shop trader, or general store expanded. The opportunities for confectioners, tobacconists, publicans, newsagents and chemists increased as wages improved, and the town suburbs became settled communities.

The fishing industry harnessed the new power of steam, and in 1882 'The Tailer' was launched in Aberdeen, the first steam trawler. By 1892 there were 86 steam trawlers working from that port, and Aberdeen had become the first fishing port in Scotland, and the third largest in Britain.

In Dundee the jute industry expanded so that by 1872 it was said that of the flax and jute products 40% went to the United States. Kirkcaldy was to become the centre of the linoleum trade, and was to remain so until after The Second World War, when the fashion of having fitted carpets throughout the home adversely affected the trade.

The Border Woollen industry expanded during the 1870 - 1914 period, helped by the invention of new machinery. Although the population of Hawick decreased from 19,204 to 17,303 between 1891 and 1901, the manufacturing of good quality tweeds continued.

The industrial expansion was serviced by the many banks in Scotland. In 1845 there were 17 Scottish note-issuing banks, but by 1878 the number had decreased to 10. During that year many people experienced severe financial loss when the City of Glasgow Bank went into liquidation. It had 133 offices, large overseas investments, and it was known for its aggressive approach to the trade. Over-expansion, and risk investments led to the final crash in October 1878, and by the turn of the century only seven Banks existed in Scotland.

Industrial growth and expansion had come fairly quickly to Scotland so that in the words of a Forfarshire manufacturer -

"Thirty years syne we were all sma' bodies here-
The Juteocracy of Dundee, the Ironocracy of Lanark-
shire and Ayrshire, the Shipocracy of the Clyde, and
the Tweedocracy of the Border - all date alike from the
Crimean War, as the fine old English gentleman traces
his pedigree from the Conquest".

('An Economic History of Modern
Scotland' - Lenman P191)

Records of wages and living conditions of the people
involved in the new industrial expansion provide a social
commentary on the period. Wages were low, and living
conditions were, in many instances deplorable, so that it
was not surprising that the Trade Union Movement expanded.
A report on conditions of employment amongst the farming
community stated -

"In Ayrshire, stables, byres, cowsheds, dilapidated farm
houses and dog kennels have been converted into
labourers' cottages. Guano bags have in some cases been
stretched across the rafters to prevent the mouldering
thatch and rain from falling upon the beds and tables of
the unfortunate occupants".

(Fourth Report of The Royal Commission on the
Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in
Agriculture (Scotland) 1871).

In 1874, Lord Roseberry, speaking at a Social Sciences
congress, declared that 'two or three years ago 30,000

children between the ages of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 17, were carrying clay at the brick fields for 73 hours a week. Whilst in 1875 Mr Orr Ewing, MP for Vale of Leven, said that 'A whole holiday once a fortnight to his employees would lead to idle habits'. A Director of the North British Railway is quoted in 'The Scotsman' on 25 January 1872 as saying "A days work is twelve hours". The carters' average wage for an 84 hour week was 24 shillings, but the carters working with the railways were expected to work 20 out of 24 hours, with no regular meal break.

In 1877 the ship 'Glenafton' left Glasgow, and at her first port of call the sailors refused to proceed on the grounds that she was unseaworthy. The Board of Trade detained the ship, but the sailors were sent to jail for hard labour. This was a fairly typical example of the justice dealt out to the working class of this period. There was no security of tenure of employment, and the labour force could be hired or fired at the discretion of the employer. The 'Independent Review' for 1905 records the following case -

"As the law at present stands a farm servant may faithfully serve his employer until within a few weeks of the half yearly 'flittin' term. Then if a quarrel takes place, the employee is dismissed without a farthing of his wages. One such case has got prominence the other winter in the South of Scotland.

The Sheriff on deciding against the employee said 'When a servant is summarily dismissed he loses all claim to any wages that may be due'. This view was upheld by The Lord Advocate".

('History of The Working Class in
Scotland 1920 - Johnston')

Another example of this treatment is found in the experience of Keir Hardie, when as a young boy working as a baker's roundsman, he was dismissed without any wages. This incident occurred in 1866. His mother was expecting a baby, his young brother was ill, and Hardie arrived late for work because he was caring for them. He was summoned to see his employer.

"Outside the dining room door a servant bade me wait, till 'Master had finished prayers' (He was much noted for his piety). At length the girl opened the door, and the sight of that room is fresh in my memory even as I write, nearly fifty years after. Round a great mahogany table sat the members of his family, with the father at the top. In front of him was a very wonderful coffee boiler in the great glass bowl of which the coffee was bubbling. The table was loaded with dainties. My master looked at me over his glasses and said in quite a pleasant tone of voice, 'Boy, this is the second morning you have been late, and my customers will leave me if they are kept waiting for their hot breakfast rolls. I therefore

dismiss you and, to make you more careful in the future, I have decided to fine you a week's wages. And now you must go".

The baby was born that night and the sun rose on the first of January 1867 over a home in which there was neither fire nor food."

('The Church in Late Victorian Scotland'-

Drummond Bulloch P199)

It was only natural that such treatment led to the growth of the Trade Union Movement, and the rise of socialism in Scotland.

The trade union movement in Scotland suffered from a 'federal' structure which left important decisions to the local branches. This resulted in indecision and a neglect to centralise funds, information and political power. Although many attempts were made to consolidate the movement in the early 1850's and 1860's by bakers, tailors, miners and other trades, nothing resulted from those attempts. The movement remained fragmented until after the First World War, whereas in England a central organisation arose quickly and minimum wages and conditions of work were negotiated.

"The forerunner of the Trade Unions was the formation of the trades councils who had as their aim 'to examine, devise and execute the best means of improving the condition

of the working classes morally, socially and politically'"

(Minute Books of the Glasgow Trades Council
23 July 1859, quoted in 'Essays in Scottish
Labour History' ed. Ian Macdougall P3).

Gradually the realisation dawned on the movement that in order to influence society it was important to gain political power at local and national level. It was not enough to strike for higher wages and better living conditions, but was essential that government policy should be influenced, and eventually controlled by the election of a working class majority in Parliament.

"Everywhere 1885 was the key year. With the redistribution of seats, trade unionists were, with increasing insistence, demanding the return of working men to local bodies and to Parliament. The demands coincided with the growth of socialist organisations and the spread of socialist ideas.

They coincided also with the crisis within the Liberal party. In Scotland, the party was torn apart by the bitter debate on disestablishment of the church, which led many radical members of Parliament along increasingly sterile by-ways, and by the split on the issue of Irish Home Rule. At a time when working-class aspirations were growing, the Liberal Party, and particularly the local Liberal associations, were unwilling and frequently

unable to respond to them. As a result, snubbed by those whom they had regarded as their natural allies, trade unionists found that they were being pushed towards independent labour politics".

('Essays on Scottish Labour History' P19)

Across the border in England, the Chartist movement, mixed with non-conformist religious zeal, was to emerge as a socialism with a strong Christian element, whereas in Scotland the socialist message was based on Marxism.

In Yorkshire the police were told of a long procession of miners marching through a village, and sent a detachment to quell the riot, only to discover it was Methodists going to a rally, and the song they sang was 'O God our help in ages past'.

Mrs Lynn Linton published 'The True History of Joshua Davidson, Christian and Communist' in 1872. This reflected the views of the deists and social reforms of the age. Christ was identified with the working class, and his mission was to improve wages, food, housing, and to teach men to work for the Kingdom of God.

'The novel was a sophisticated version of the Old Chartist, and new Labour, claim that Christ was on the side of the worker against the Churches'.

('The Victorian Church' - Owen Chadwick
P265 vol 2).

The Co-operative societies grew in Scotland, so that by 1882 the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society (1868) sold more than a £1 million worth of goods, and by 1899, the total was £5 million. The co-operatives were to grow and expand, so that by 1914 a family who had an account in the 'co-op' felt secure for life and had enough to pay for death.

The economic and industrial change during 1870 - 1914 was to influence the lives of all the Scottish people, and it was to create a situation which the Church of Scotland (The Auld Kirk) had to react to in a positive way. This response to the situation is considered in Part Two of the Thesis.

MAJOR CATEGORIES OF PRODUCTION BY VALUE AND
EMPLOYMENT 1907

	VALUE (£thousands)	EMPLOYEES
Mines and Quarries	22,617	132,096
Iron and Steel, engineering and shipbuilding	61,513	230,691
Other metal trades	1,790	5,555
Textiles	29,154	141,184
Clothing trades	8,737	75,899
Chemicals	6,591	9,274
Paper, printing etc	8,771	44,440
Food and Drink	31,064	70,968
Leather and Canvas	2,945	6,208
Timber	7,590	34,480
Clay, stone, building	12,831	80,557
Miscellaneous trades	599	3,940
Public utilities	6,609	29,395
TOTALS	207,840	885,403

Source - Final Report of Census of Production 1907.

('An Economic History of Scotland' P217).

c) CULTURAL

(i) General Introduction

The relationship between The Arts, Industry and Religion is not an easy one to determine, for it varies from age to age. During the growth of industrialisation in Great Britian, the arts sometimes reflected the age, and at other times they sought to escape from it into a Utopia where the rape of natural resources and labour had never occurred, The place of religion is also ambivalent. On the one hand it assented to the doctrine of increased wealth through hard work and thrift, but was unable to come to terms with the degradation of humanity which this doctrine created.

There were voices in England which deplored the society created by the machine process, for instead of making life better for the poor, it increased their burdens.

"The wonderful machines which in the hands of just and forseeing men would have been used to minimise repulsive labour and to give pleasure, or in other words added life, to the human race, have been used on the contrary that they have driven all men into mere frantic haste and hurry, thereby destroying pleasure, that is life, on all hands; they have, instead of

lightening the labour of the workman, intensified it, and thereby added more weariness yet to the burden which the poor have to carry."

('Art and Socialism: the Aims and Ideals of the English Socialists of To-day.'

Lecture delivered before the Secular Society of Leicester, 1884 by William Morris)

In Scotland, the reaction to the industrial process by authors, musicians and painters was to take refuge in an idealistic society of the past, which had never really existed. This flight from reality is expressed in the 'Kailyard' literature of the age which recreated rustic simplicity, and is found in the songs of the period which ignored the slums and poverty, and instead delighted in 'Bonnie Wells o' Wearie', or 'Land of The Mountain and The Flood'.

This escapism from the reality of the present into the past, was quite typical of the arts, for industrialisation challenged the values that they held dear - the innocence of nature, the value of life, and a strict morality. It is possible that in the kailyard school of thought, the people who lived close to industry, discovered a retreat from life which they welcomed and accepted, for it offered a break from routine and a romance which they imagined

had escaped from life. It also offered a theological framework which satisfied the deep longings of the Scot for his country.

"..... the kailyarders were sure of their morals, mindful of their artistic manners, and certain they had God on their side. They were presbyterians who smiled benevolently on the parish. They operated within a theological ambience and had a platform once. The Rev. Will Robertson Nicoll founded and published (on 5 November 1886) the first number of the 'British Weekly'. Nicoll, a Free Church man, encouraged Barrie and discovered Ian Maclaren. Little wonder he encouraged the kailyarders for this was a literary movement that adhered to the theological doctrines of the Free Church. Barrie was brought up in the Free Church; S R Crockett and Ian Maclaren (the pseudonym of John Watson) were both Free Church ministers. A consequence of the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church stood for presbyterian fundamentalism and a rejection of state interference; the kailyard novelists put their faith in God and pinned their fortune on God's chosen. Kailyardism was not only a sentimental outpouring that travestied Scottish life; it was a type of writing guaranteed to bring monetary rewards to those who stuck to the rules. Kailyard fiction portrayed 'life as

seen through the windows of the Free Kirk manse';
from this viewpoint Scottish characters were always
quaint, the way Scots spoke was comical, the
situations Scots found themselves in were coy."

(Modern Scottish Literature'

P105/6

Alan Bold)

In this section, a commentary is provided on
aspects of the cultural life of Scotland during the
period 1870 - 1914, and an indication is given
of what some of the people read, listened to, and
looked at during their leisure.

(ii) The Literature of The Period

1870 - 1914

The Kailyard

Life and Work Magazine

The Kailyard satisfied, in some measure, the desire in Scotland for a literature which recreated a bygone age more specifically Scottish than an increasingly urbanized, industrialized British modernity.

I Campbell

(A Companion to Scottish Culture)

ed. Daiches

The ethos and culture of a national Church is not readily determined, for it must by its nature include attitudes, literature and folk lore. This is true of the period under examination.

The Disruption of 1843 had split the Church of Scotland into the Free Church, and the 'Auld Kirk', and it was assumed that in time the Auld Kirk would become a spent force, and never again regain its place in the life of the people. The Free Church possessed a dynamic leader in Thomas Chalmers, and attracted the new middle class who wanted to exercise their influence in church affairs. It was natural that the merchants, shop keepers and businessmen who were creating wealth, should want to spend it, and the Free Church offered a new status with power, to those who accepted its leadership and theology. The expansion of the Free Church was phenomenal, and it was assumed that the Auld Kirk would gradually diminish and become a small sect. It was not to be. The progress of the Free Church slowed down, and the Auld Kirk discovered, perhaps to its surprise, but also to its delight, that it had retained a place in the affections of the people.

Although Scotland was passing through the Industrial Revolution, with all the changes which this implied, the literature of the period concentrated on the

rustic simplicity of the people, and played upon the sentimentality of the race. It became known as the 'Kailyard School' and it concentrated on amusing little stories often in dialect, which dwelt upon the village life of a Scotland which had long since died.

"The Kailyard's importance is that in writing (and generally writing well) of parochial matters, its authors conjured up at the same time much of the essential Scottishness of the Scot, those qualities which in modern times may in large measure have been eroded by city life and the influence of easy travel. Eroded but not yet destroyed. The Kailyard identified the courage in adversity, the general approval of 'getting on' (and the particular jealousy felt for some who get on), the kindliness, opinionatedness, undemonstrativeness, sentimentality, provincialism and stubborn insistence on what is thought to be right, which are not untypical eighty years on."

(The Kailyard Revisited' by Eric Anderson
P146 'Nineteenth Century Scottish Fiction').

ed. Campbell

The image of Scotland presented by this school of authors was dominated by the Minister, who with a friendly smile, and a benevolent spirit replaced the laird as the focus of village life.

"Among all the houses in a Scottish parish the homeliest and kindest is the manse, for to its door some time of the year comes every inhabitant, from the laird to the cottar woman....."

('Kate Carnegie and Those Ministers'

P237 Ian MacLaren)

The rivalry of the Free Church and the Auld Kirk is quite readily played upon, and becomes a useful instrument for projecting the simple image of country people. So that in 'Kate Carnegie and Those Ministers' one of the characters adds fuel to the conflict -

"Ye ken the Auld Kirk has tae be watchit like a cat wi' a moose; an though a' say it as sudna Maister MacWheep wud hae made a pair job o' the business himsel. The pairish meenister wis terrible plausible, on' askit oor man tae denner afore he wis settled in his poopit, an' he wis that simple, he wud hae gaen."

('Kate Carnegie and Those Ministers'

P97)

And yet the Kailyard School was able to inject criticism of a sort into the rustic simplicity, but it had to be personal and pointed, otherwise it would have destroyed the arena which it had created. Carmichael, the Free Church Minister

in 'Kate Carnegie', becomes the focus of a jibe, which the laird and farmers would enjoy.

"He had done well at University, and was inclined to be philosophical, for he knew little of himself and nothing of the world."

('Kate Carnegie and Those Ministers'

P13)

There were four writers who dominated the Kailyard School, which was named after lines from Johnsons 'Musical Museum', and printed at the beginning of 'Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush' -

"There grows a bonnie brier bush in our kailyard
And white are the blossoms on't in our kail-yard".

They were Annie S Swan (1859 - 1943), the Rev J Watson (Ian Maclaren), Samuel Rutherford Crockett, and Sir James Matthew Barrie, the ninth child of a handloom weaver, born at Kirriemuir, and educated at Glasgow Academy, Dumfries Academy and Edinburgh University.

The high priest of the movement, as Maurice Lindsay in his 'History of Scottish Literature' suggests was Sir William Robertson Nicoll (1851 - 1923) who was a son of the manse, and after a period as a Free Church Minister went to London and became editor

of the 'Expositor', and then in 1886 produced 'The British Weekly'.

The style and form of the literature was profitable and Watson, whilst he retained his charge, made several lecture tours of the States, and made a profit of £7,000.

Lindsay suggests that Ian Maclaren is typical of the whole school

".... cap touching rustics indulge in lengthy exchanges in Scots on topics of the utmost triviality, supposedly showing the shrewdness and pawkiness attributed to that peculiar Scots commodity 'weet'. The stories are foolish, the style abominable. The sad fact is that the literary labours of this sincere and energetic churchman are simply not worth serious study".

('History of Scottish Literature' -
Lindsay p 349)

Lindsay in his 'History of Scottish Literature' sums up the period under review in this way

"With the minor exception of an interesting novel by Sarah Tytler (1827 - 1914) 'St Mungo's City' which presents some vivid detail of the working of Glasgow's

textile industry, no novelist cared to look closely at the human basis on which the growing middle-class prosperity of most of the characters in the novels of Oliphant and Black depended. Instead there was a surge of escapism, in two directions. One led straight into the hypocritical but profitable climate of the village garden, the hand of the minister never far from the welcoming gate. The other pursued the ghost of Scott into the colourful historic past; a static past, however about which his latter day disciples saw fit to romance without displaying his awareness that the unromantic industrial present was here to stay"

('History of Scottish Literature' -
Maurice Lindsay P 336)

The Literature produced by the Christian Life and Work Committee for the Church members to deepen and improve their devotional life was in the 'Kailyard' model. The 'Life and Work' magazine encouraged 'Kailyard' theology, which was pietistic, individualistic, and divorced from the population in the cities, as it was from the new biblical criticism which was changing the life of the Church. The articles would rage against the evil of drink, or give dire warnings to those farmers who left their servants - of mixed sexes - alone in the kitchen after evening prayers.

Dr John Gray of Auchterless wrote as 'An Old Farm Servant' whilst Dr Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd (AKHB) wrote essays for Sabbath reading.

"Gray exhorted with all the passion of some one who had been through it himself

'one of yourselves, only somewhere better schooled and able to spell and write somewhat better than most of you, and so able to talk with you through the pages of this magazine'. He also lambasted grieves, foremen, and second horsemen who cursed swore, and used abscene language, and pled with his readers to put most of their wages in the bank, not just for old age and sickness but 'for the glorious privelege of being independant'. He thought a man could manage £20 a year and a woman £8, on average wages. (Elsewhere he suggests saving £12 out of £24 a year!)"

(*'Scotland's Life and Work'* P22 -
Kernohan.)

In September 1882, the Rev Thomas Young wrote an article - 'A Sunday Hour on Glasgow Green' which gives some indication of the current attitude to the working classes.

"The object of our visit to Glasgow Green was to learn what the intelligent portion of the working classes who have only a slender or no connection

with our churches were thinking and talking about; and we were surprised at the range of subjects, their depth and accuracy of comprehension, and their powers of debate and exposition. Social, philisophical, and religious questions were sometimes handled in a really able manner and seemed in their discussion to be popular themes for the listening crowd".

('Scotlands Life and Work' P13)

'Life and Work' magazine was created to help bridge the gulf between the pulpit and the pew, which it did. But it remained essentially a 'house' journal of interest to those within the institution, and it did nothing to win back the unchurched masses. It was essentially a lower-middle class magazine, and its advertisements and illustrations show this quite positively.

Its sales increased over the years,

1879 (January)	1879 (May)	1980	1889
76,000	72,000	82,000	101,570
1895 (May)	1895 (Sept)	1896 (Jan)	1896 (Apr)
101,986	101,074	103,978	101,053

One of the major concerns of 'Life and 'Work' was the farm labourers, and a great deal of its energies were directed towards this class of people. It was as if the town centred editorial body had singled

them out for a special mission, whilst the great mass of the townspeople remained untouched by the ministry of the Church.

"Some of the most eloquent testimony of the social history which 'Life and Work' so abundantly provides is of an evangelical concern for the conversion of the people of the Scottish countryside. For example, the efforts which the magazine made which promised 'to lessen intemperance' were not only directed to those who had a pub on either side of the close-mouth but to a rural population much larger then than now and perhaps as remote in working conditions from modern farms as a modern factory is from Blake's dark satanic mills. Perhaps 'Life and Work' drew too much on Aberdeenshire for its examples and exhortations."

('Scotlands life and Work' - P21)

The magazine played, and still plays, an important part in the life of the Church, reflecting as faithfully as possible the unity and diversity of the national Church. It contributed to the literature of the 1870 - 1914 period, and was a means of communication and evangelism - in this respect it fulfilled the aims of Professor Charteris its founder who wrote of the English popular periodicals -

"What can an ordinary Scotchman make of allusions to Epiphany and Advent, commendations of a child who

has learned the collect of the day, casual mentions of the chancel, the offertory, the surplice, of even the litany?

All such terms, familiar to every English reader, are Hebrew and Greek to many of our countrymen; and even to those who do understand them, they speak of the 'Life and Work' of another country and not that of our own".

(*'Scotland's Life and Work'* P1).

(iii) The Music of The period

"This period clearly demonstrated many facets: that Scotland was still a land, above all others, which continued to cherish her rich heritage in folk and national melodies; that she evinced a growing and sustained appreciation of classical, post classical, and modern composers"

"A History of Music in Scotland"

Farmer

Many battles have been fought in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland over faith and doctrine, and they have resulted in people being hurt and offended, and, at the worst, the fragmentation of the church into smaller groups, but retaining the presbyterian government and ethos. But one of the greatest battles to be fought was a few years before the period under examination (1870 - 1914), and it was over the introduction of the organ or 'kist o' whistles'.

In 1807 the Presbytery of Glasgow passed the following deliverance -

"The use of organs in the public worship of God is contrary to the law of the land, and to the law and constitution of our Established Church"

(Glasgow Presbytery 1807)

The deliverance was moved against the Reverend Dr William Ritchie of St Andrew's Church, Glasgow, who had introduced the organ into the Church and worship. He moved to Edinburgh shortly afterwards to become Professor of Divinity, and a contemporary cartoon shows Ritchie on his way to Edinburgh dressed as an organ grinder with the caption 'Ill gang nae mair to yon toun'.

In 1863 the Reverend Robert Lee of Greyfriars in Edinburgh introduced a harmonium into his church. Once again the cry of 'Popery' and 'Jesuit' arose. The organ was only one of many innovations that Lee introduced, along with a new liturgy and service book which suggested that prayers in the service should be prepared and ordered instead of extempore.

"It cannot but appear wonderful that when sermons are composed with so much care and pains, we should leave our prayers altogether to the impulse of the moment; as if it were more needful that our speeches to our fellow men should be well ordered, than our addresses to God."

('Introduction to the Order of Public
Worship 1864'. Robert Lee D.D.)

He encouraged the congregation to kneel during prayers, and to stand when singing.

Lee fought a hard battle in successive General Assemblies, and was eventually summoned to appear before the Assembly on 23 May 1867, but the day before he was seen to fall from his horse at the West End. He suffered a stroke and was to live until March of the following year. His death brought a new freedom to church worship and music, and congregations in the Auld Kirk were permitted to introduce new forms of worship if they so desired.

The introduction of hymns took some time, but in 1868 the Church of Scotland received a report which planned some two hundred new hymns for the Scottish Hymnal.

It was not until the last quarter of the century that the presbyterians really accepted and integrated hymnals into their worship.

Whilst the Church was 'debating' the future of organs and hymns, the secular music of the period was making rapid strides and there was a growth of interest in choral groups orchestral concerts, and theatre.

In 1873 there was the second Glasgow Festival which lasted for five days, and included an orchestra of sixty-six and a choir of three hundred and fifty, and a programme which included Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, Schumann's Symphony in B Flat (No 1) along with Wagner's 'Flying Dutchman'. But the calvinistic conscience exerted itself in the programme and the audience were requested not to applaud for 'Elijah' as it was a religious work. Visiting orchestras performed in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and in 1874 a Choral Union Orchestra was created which gave concerts in both cities. It had a distinguished list of conductors including Sir Arthur Sullivan, Hans von Bülow Julius Tausch, and Sir August Manns,

who brought honour to Scotland's first permanent orchestra.

It is interesting that Edinburgh, the capital city, took second place to Glasgow in the formation of an orchestra and choral group. This position has been maintained in the present, with Glasgow being the home of Scottish Opera.

In the Highlands and Islands the repression of local music by the Church drove song and dance underground.

"Drinking, dancing, music and recreation are officially condemned. But these gentlemen in their fanatical and destructive campaign forget that such taboos cannot be imposed on country people, whose nature it is to set more store on human values than on ascetic ones. And the more their human wants are denied them, the more they tend to excess. So that in the Isles the arts of drinking and dancing are still in a very healthy condition, for when they have to be pursued in secret, they become an exciting adventure. To this extent the people have managed to resist the self-mortifying demands of the Church - and the fact that fresh songs are brought forth yearly from the Western Isles would seem to indicate that there is no deterioration in the art of music. But these are not new songs; they are traditional things that have managed to survive in spite of difficulties. The creative impulse of the arts

has been successfully stifled by the Church - except in the Catholic islands where the gospel of humanism receives more of its due. If anybody were now to produce a chant of such pagan and sensual beauty as the 'Dawn Prayer of a Clan Ronald', which Dr Alexander Carmichael found in the Hebrides, he would probably be brought to account by the Church. Yet the hymns and incantations of Carmina Gadelica reveal a philosophy of much greater beauty and spiritual depth than anything now known within the Protestant Church of the Isles."

(Extract from 'Scottish Country Essays'
edited by George Scott Moncrieff -
source Hector MacIver).

At the end of the century a group of Scottish composers emerged, who influenced the domestic music scene, but who never became famous outwith Scotland. They have been called the 'National Group', and it was their enthusiasm and ability which created the conditions for a re-newed interest in the arts of Scotland, which within forty years was to emerge as a Festival of Music and Drama in the Capital of Presbyterian Scotland.

<u>List of Composers</u>		
NAME	PLACE OF STUDY	WORK
Adam Hamilton (1820 - 1900)	Dessau	Overture Andante, Turkish March.
John Robertson (b. 1838)	Berlin	I was glad When The Storm rages loud. Grant The Queen a Long Life
Walter Hately (1843 - 1907)	Leipsic	Row Burnie Row Ellonie
Allan Macbeth (1856 - 1910)	Leipsic	The Land of Glory The Duke's Doctor
Helen Hopekirk (1856 - 1941)	Leipsic piano	Five Songs Six Poems by Fiona Macleod Seventy Scottish Songs
Francis Gibson (b. 1861)	Frankfurt	Album of Ten Songs
Charles Hall Woolnoth (1860 - 1911)	Leipsic	Lisette Il Penseroso

List of Composers (cont)

NAME	PLACE OF STUDY	WORK
Charles John Hargitt (1833 - 1918)	Edinburgh	Coronet & Crown The Honest Queen
John Charles Grieve (1842 - 1916)	Edinburgh	Bonnie Wells o' Wearie Christian Songs of Praise Good Samaritan Legend of St Swithin
John Kinross (1848 - 90)	Edinburgh piano	Psalm of Life Songs in a Vineyard
John Creig (1854 - 1909)	Moray House and Oxford	Opera Holyrood The Three Graces Zion Life's Gloaming
William Alexander Cruickshank (1854 - 1934)	Edinburgh Oxford	Communion Service Te Deum Magnificat Nunc Dimittis My True Love
Alexander Campbell Mackenzie	Germany Kings Scholar Royal Academy	Pionaforte Quartet in E flat Overture to a Comedy Scherzo for Orchestra In The Scottish Highlands

List of Composers (cont)

NAME	PLACE OF STUDY	WORK
Hamish McCann (1868 - 1916)	Royal College of Music, London	Land of The Mountain and The Flood The Ship o' the Fiend Dowie Dens of Yarrow Principal Conductor of Carl Rosa Opera
Learmont Drysdale (1866 - 1909)	Edinburgh Royal Academy London	The Spirit of The Glen Thomas The Rhymer Through The Sound of Raasay Ode to Edinburgh
Frederick James Simpson (b. 1856)	Royal College of Music London Oxford	Three Port Songs Old English Songs Symphony in 'C' The Departure of The Spring Robert Bruce Over- ture

List of Composers (cont)

NAME	PLACE OF STUDY	WORK
John More Smieton (1857 - 1904)	Edinburgh University	Psalm CXX1 The Jolly Beggars The Song and The Sower The Keel Row Old Celtic Romances Belinda
William Wallace (1860 - 1940)	Royal Academy of Music London	Lord of Darkness for Baritone & Orchestra The Lady from The Sea
J Mair Clark	Royal Academy London Dresden	Variations on an Original Theme
Archibald David Arnot (b. 1870)	Royal College of Music	Young Lochinvar
Charles Macpherson (1870 - 1927)	Chorister St Pauls Cathedral Royal Academy	By the Waters of Babylon The Heavens Declare Sing Unto God

<u>List of Composers (cont)</u>		
NAME	PLACE OF STUDY	WORK

Alfred Moffatt (b. 1866)	Berlin	The Dressing of The Well
		The Passing Year
		The Children of Samuel
Frederick A Lamond (b. 1868)	Germany	become world famous pionist
		'Symphony in A'
		From The Scottish Highlands: over- ture
John Blackwood McEwen (b. 1868)	Royal Academy	Alma Mater
		String Quartet
David Stephen (1869 - 1946)	non graduate of any College	Conductor Choral Societies
		Sir Patrick Spens

(iv) The Art of The Period

"The sea and the boats were Mr Taggart's most constant theme. Much of his inspiration came from the west coast, in particular, on Kintyre,..... capturing the clear blue of the sea on a sunny day, and the gentle movement of boats in a light breeze. His other favourite spot, on the east, was Carnoustie which he discovered in 1872."

('Scottish Painters'

David and Francina Irwin).

The art of the period was dominated by one individual, and a group; William McTaggart, and The Glasgow School of Artists.

McTaggart was the leading landscape painter in Britain. At the turn of the century MacWhirter wrote to him -

"You are the best painter of open/air in Great Britain".

Born and brought up in the Mull of Kintyre it was in his blood to paint sea-scapes, and he took pleasure in working out of doors

"A photograph of him at work on the beach at Machrihanish, Argyll, taken in 1898, shows him on the sunlit, windy shore looking out to the Atlantic breakers as he captures the scene on a canvas held in position by ropes and boulders. He frequently worked out of doors, producing a long series of canvases of seas and fields which for their dazzling light and exuberant style were rare in Scottish painting at the time."

('Scottish Painters' -

David and Francina Irwin p 365)

His early works reflected the mood of the Victorian era, which made an obsession of the 'ideal', so that

'Grandmother Knitting' in which an old lady is knitting and beside her a child plays with the ball of wool, is lifeless and bland. 'Spring' is perhaps his best known work of this early period, and depicts the innocence of childhood. Two girls are sitting on a grassy bank beside a pool, one gazes into the water and the other at a daisy she has picked for her chain. The innocence is captured, once again at the cost of realism. Objectivity has overcome identity, and the set piece is more important than the individuals.

His style and emphasis changed, and by 1860 his landscapes dominated his work. His ability to capture light and to interpret the sky and the movement of water gave his work a new dimension, and increasing popularity.

McTaggart was to be a Scottish painter who painted his best in the land of his birth. Places like Carnoustie, Kintyre, and Campbeltown, gave him the scenes which he responded to with exceptional vigour.

His works are now part of our tradition and have bridged the gulf between the Victorian era and our own.

"McTaggart in his lifetime and since had always been highly, indeed frequently, exaggeratedly, praised, generally by fellow Scots, typified by the lively auto-biography of A S Hatrick, who claimed McTaggart

was 'a born impressionist and the most original painter that Scotland has ever produced'."

('Scottish Painters'

p 369)

The 'Glasgow School' were all young artists who were under thirty years old in 1880. It was a group of like-minded students who were identified not only by their place of residence, but by their style and subject matter which consisted of that 'idealistic' Scotland of hills, Celtic bards or goddesses and foreign rivers and deserts.

The first leader was W Y Macgregor, who had trained at the Slade, and who, along with Paterson, the landscape painter, was the start of the 'school'. They used Macgregor's studio as their base and this became their meeting place and resource centre, until Macgregor fell ill and moved to the Bridge of Allan. His advice to his fellow artists was

"Hack the subject out as you would were you using an axe, and try to realise it, get its bigness. Don't follow any school, there are no schools in art".

('Scottish Painters' p 373)

The manifesto of the group was clearly outlined in

the 'Scottish Arts Review' (1888 - 89) in which the philosophy and ideals of the artists were suggested in the article 'The Gospel of Art'. It was a plea for the artists to break away from their insularity and to capture the idealism of the age, as well as to bring a newness to art which had been neglected in Scotland. There was a clear Scottish bias, and a sense of standing on the threshold of a new age.

At the end of the century there was a Celtic Revival in art and literature. Patrick Geddes (1854 - 1932) was at the centre of it, and he held 'schools' which included not only art, but biology, psychology, history, literature and garden design. He attracted to him many followers who continued his work in the first part of the twentieth century - namely John Duncan (1866 - 1945) and Robert Burns (1869 - 1941).

Throughout the period 1870 - 1914 there was a great upsurge of interest in art and music, and although the literature was 'kailyard' it was read by the people.

LISTS OF ARTISTS

The Glasgow Boys or Glasgow School

Guthrie	from Greenock
Macgregor	from Finnart
Walton	from Renfrewshire
Dow	from Fife

LIST OF ARTISTS (cont)

The Glasgow Boys or Glasgow School

Christie		from Fife
Melville		from Edinburgh
Roche)	
Paterson)	
Cameron)	from Glasgow
Gauld)	
Kennedy)	
Stevenson)	
Lavery		from Belfast
Crawhill)	from England - Morpeth
Park)	England - Kidderminster
Hornel		from Victoria, Australia

(d) RELIGIOUS

"The public services of the Church of Scotland had become probably the baldest and rudest in Christendom. The Parish Kirks, owing to the niggardliness of the heritors, were comfortless and coarsely furnished. The music was rough and untrained; only in a few of the town churches was it rendered with any attempt at taste or skill.

The Bible was scarcely read. The prayers were reduced in number to two at the most, and were drearily long and uninteresting. The Lord's Prayer was never heard. The Sermon was the great feature of the service; and it was too often a 'screed' of dull doctrine or of cold morality."

'The Reformed Ritual in Scotland'

The Lecture for 1886 by R H Story.

"October 29, 1854

Reverend Norman McLeod. Sermon extempore simple and yet so eloquent and so beautifully argued and put. Text was from Nicodemus coming to Christ by night. St John Chapter 3.

Prayer so simple - prayed 'bless their children'."

"October 14, 1855

Reverend J Caird preached - nearly an hour electrified the congregation. Text from Romans 12,11. As fine as Mr McLeod's sermon last year, and sent us home much edified."

When we compare the extracts from Queen Victorias diary for the years 1854 - 1855, and the expressed view of R H Story, that the services in the Church of Scotland were the 'baldest and rudest in Christendom', then we must come to the conclusion that perhaps the services in Crathie were better conducted and were more edifying than the services in the churches throughout Scotland. The critics of the period were quite devastating, and suggested that there was an 'air of rusticity and contempt of God', and that 'everything helpful to engage and elevate the heart

having been whimsically thrown out'.

Before 1860 the normal diet of worship in the Auld Kirk had not changed much for one hundred and fifty years. The collection was placed in a plate at the door as the worshipers entered the Church, and the Beadle brought 'the Book' (The Bible) and the psalm book into the pulpit. The Minister wore a black gown, Geneva bands, black gloves and cuffs, and he was 'snibbed into' the pulpit by the beadle. The traditional start to worship were the words 'Let us worship God', and a psalm was sung, but first the Minister read out as much as was to be sung. The Precentor then led the singing, the congregation remained seated. After 'the Praise', the Minister led the congregation in prayer, and the congregation stood for the twenty minutes it took for this 'short' prayer. The Lord's Prayer might be said by the Minister, but not yet by the congregation. The Lecture came next, based on a passage of scripture. This was like an exposition, but not completely so, as morality and law were an essential part of it. A second psalm might be sung, and then the Sermon was delivered, lasting the best part of an hour. When it was concluded there was an extemporary prayer of intercession, lasting twenty, to twenty-five minutes, intimations, and then the final psalm. The service lasted about two hours, and the

congregation rushed out the Church after the Bedediction.

After 1860 a gradual change took place in worship within the Auld Kirk. There was an enlarged psalmody, and a collection of eighty-five hymns had been prepared for the General Assembly, and by 1861, ninety-seven pieces followed by '22 Doxologies, 3 forms of Thanksgivings, 2 Dismissions, 1 Hosanna and 4 Sanctuses' were presented to the Assembly.

There was a growing demand for hymns, and a desire for better buildings in which to worship. When the Reverend Archibald Charteris went to New Abbey in 1859, the Auld Kirk was a building attached to the ruins of Sweetheart Abbey and described as a 'Presbyterian dog-kennel'. This was typical of many churches in Scotland which possessed neither beauty nor warmth, and were lacking in any architectural design. It was during this period that the Episcopal Church in Scotland embarked upon an extensive building programme which by 1858 had increased its congregations from 75 to 150, and its clergy from 78 to 163, and had built large churches and Cathedrals throughout Scotland.

The American Evangelists, Moody and Sankey, visited Scotland in 1873, and this created an interest in a different, more informal type of worship, with religious

'songs' playing an important part.

It was during the 1860's that bitter controversy raged over the 'innovations' that were introduced to Public Worship. The Reverend Dr Robert Lee of Greyfriars, Edinburgh was at the centre of the row. He had introduced an organ, 'a kist o' whistles', a service book, and orders of service for Baptism, weddings and funerals. He had changed the traditional worship pattern, and become a focal point for change in the Auld Kirk.

In 1864 Cardinal Wisemen deplored the lack of fervour for the faith in Scottish Catholics, and observed their dislike for the hierarachy, putting this down to the tradition of a calvinistic, presbyterian government.

Religion had a great influence on the people of Scotland. It had entered their lifes, whether they liked it or not at the Reformation, and had shaped their existance and life-style until the industrialisation process severed the links with the country parish church. The Auld Kirk, and The Free Kirk dominated the communities since the 1843 Disruption, but there were many areas where the Auld Kirk still existed undisturbed by those events, and was ministering happily to the Romans and Episcopalions.

Charteris records that he visited the Roman Catholics in his Parish at New Abbey, and considered the Roman Catholic priest as his good friend. In the rural communities of Scotland, the Church played an important part in the life of the people, and the Ministers were important people!

It was in this simple concept of rustic life that the kailyarders struck a chord in their writings. For the Scot delights in every age to simplify his origins, and create a landscape of heather cottages and simple piety. Even Robert Louis Stevenson writing from Samoa in the 1890's expresses his desire to be in Edinburgh, attending the diet of worship at Glencorse Old Kirk -

"Do you know that the dearest burn to me in this world, is that which drums and pours in cunning wimples in that glen of yours behind Glencorse Old Kirk? Oh, that I were the lad I once was, sitting under old Torrance, that old Shepherd of let-well-alone, and watching with awe the waving of the old black gloves over the Bible - the preacher's white finger-ends meanwhile aspiring through!"

('Pentland Walles - Literary and
Historical Society' P1920 Andrew Elliot).

Stevenson was no follower of Kailyard ideals, but it is easy to see how the past was relived in the present, and

how it was given greater place than it merited. The past was projected as a lasting security which the new machines could not touch. In that simple life religion was one of several unchanging factors, and for the masses in the overcrowded closes of the cities it was a fantasy which allowed them to escape from poverty and degradation.

However, as I argue later on, the Auld Kirk with the motivation of Charteris and The Christian Life and Work Committee responded to the situation in a practical, if not a theological, way.

3. PART TWO

THE RESPONSE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (AULD KIRK)

- a) General Observations on the state of the Church in Scotland (The Disruption and Biblical Criticism)
- b) The Reverend Professor Archibald Hamilton Charteris
 - (i) His Life and Work
 - (ii) The Baird Lecture
- c) The Christian Life and Work Committee - a summary of the Reports 1869 - 1914
- d) Practical responses initiated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland
- e) Theological response.

a) General Observations on the state of the Church in
Scotland (The Disruption, Biblical Criticism)

The Disruption

"Though the Church has been driven forth into the wilderness, though it is driven from the halls of the great and the countenance of state - though it is driven from the Church and the church yard where the bones of their fore fathers sleep, yet she is in verity the identical Church which their fathers founded and which was reared by their prayers, their sufferings, and their blood"

R S Candlish

Biblical Criticism

"Criticism tries to explain difficulties which the older exegesis tried to explain away".

Robertson Smith

The Church in Scotland was dominated by two men during the 19th century - Chalmers and Charteris. The former led the Church into disruption and disunity, but is widely acknowledged in Scotland as a national religious leader; whilst the latter sought to revive the mission of the Church and restore its reunity, but is hardly known except in church history circles. This indeed may be a commentary on the Scottish character, in that honour is given to the disruptive influences in our society, whilst the constructive and positive ones are often ignored. Chalmers merits a place in 'A Companion to Scottish Culture' edited by David Diaches, but Charteris is not mentioned.

Chalmers was born in Anstruther of a merchant family, and went on to study Arts and Divinity at St Andrews, where he became assistant Professor of Mathematics, whilst also being the Parish Minister of Kilmeny. After an evangelical conversion experience he moved to The Tron in Glasgow where he became a popular preacher and activist caring for the poor and needy. He moved to the new parish of St Johns in 1819, and created a 'theo cratic state' in minature where he sought to provide for the needy, and encouraged independence, self-reliance and self-help. He went back to St Andrews University to the Chair of Moral Philosophy, moving to Edinburgh in 1828 to the Chair of Divinity. He became the leader of the Evangelical

party within the Church, and whilst he upheld the principle of the established Church, he advocated the abolition of the legal disabilities which restricted dissenters in England and evangelicals in Scotland. He supported Catholic Emancipation -

"Give the Catholics of Ireland their empancipation, give them a seat in the Parliament of their country, give them a free and equal participation in the politics of the realm, give them a place at the right hand of majesty and a voice in his counsels, and give me the circulation of the Bible, and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the Tyranny of Antichrist and establish the fair and original form of Christianity on its ruins".

The political life within the Church was dominated by the Ten Years Conflict. Patronage had been a problem within the Church for a century or more, and in 1883 a Veto Act was presented to the General Assembly which was designed to secure the rights of parishoners to reject the nominee of a patron. The Moderate party managed to defeat the Act although it was passed in 1834 and the conflict started. The Civil Courts supported the patrons, and the seeds of the Disruption were sown. The issue became one of the liberty of the Church to determine its own appointments, and then soon developed into the whole relationship between Church and State.

By 1843 it was evident that the evangelical party could no longer exist within the Church of Scotland, as established, and 451 ministers left to form The Free Church of Scotland.

Chalmers stated their case, and also left the door open to re-unification when he said

"Though we quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle; we quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one. To express it otherwise - we are the advocates for a national recognition and natural support of religion - and we are not Voluntaries".

The emotional impact of the Disruption is hard to assess, but it did divide families within the Church. Ministers left their manses and experienced real hardship until the new Church built a church in every Parish, as well as a manse. They took with them one third of the membership of the Church, and it became a church where the merchants and industrialists of the new age were able to have a powerful voice. If the old patronage system was rooted in the landowners, then the new patrons of the Free Church were the successful engineers and skilled craftsmen from the industrial belt of Scotland. They willingly gave of their time and resources to create the new Church.

The Disruption has loomed large in the history of Scotland, but it is possible that it resulted in making the Churches more conservative in theology for a longer period, because it distracted from the issues which were to change the theology of the age.

It was from the Free Church that the new theology of Biblical criticism emerged in Scotland. The Robertson Smith case was to create a disturbance which crossed the denominational barriers and roused emotions which had remained dormant since the days of the Disruption.

Robertson Smith studied at Aberdeen University, New College and Germany where he sat under Ritschl. He was a brilliant student, and was appointed to the Chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Criticism at the Free Church College in Aberdeen. It was not until 1875 when a new edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica was published that he became a subject of controversy. In this edition he wrote about Angels, and explored their personality or non-personality. It caused some comment but not as much as the next article which accepted the conclusions of the new teaching and cast doubt upon the traditional views of divine authority, verbal inspiration, and the authorship of the Bible. Smith regarded the Old Testament as the story of the evolution of Israel's faith and the New Testament as a compilation of books which included the teaching of Jesus, but many of which were not directly apostolic.

The doors of the Scottish churches had been blown open by the storm winds of criticism and any attempts to close the doors was bound to meet with failure. The only hope was for the storm to blow itself out. This was not to be, and a battle raged which shook Scotland, created divisions within the churches, and led to the trial of Robertson Smith before the Assembly of the Free Church. In 1881 he was deposed from his Chair, but his teaching was not condemned. He became Professor of Arabic in Cambridge and was to influence Sir J G Fraser the anthropologist author of 'The Golden Bough'.

One of the fiercest critics of Robertson Smith was a reviewer, in the 'Edinburgh Courant', of the article 'Bible' in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, which condemned him in the following words in 1876

"This article which we are discussing is objectionable in itself; but our chief objection to it is that it should be sent far and wide over English - speaking countries as an impartial account of the present state of our knowledge of the Bible. We regret that a publication which will be admitted without suspicion into many a carefully guarded public library, should, upon so all important a matter as the records of our faith, take a stand - a decided stand - on the wrong side. We hope the publisher and editor will look after the contributors - or after each other- and cease to pass off rationalistic speculations as ascertained facts.

('Life of A H Charteris' p 190-192).

The reviewer was A H Charteris, the Professor of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University, of the Auld Kirk. In 1876 he was Convener of The Christian Life and Work Committee, and in 1887 was to give a Baird Lecture which was to be the blueprint for the renewal of the Auld Kirk, and which was to lay the foundations of the re-union movement within the Church in Scotland.

The review seemed out of keeping with the person that was to lead the Auld Kirk into the 20th century.

'Church and Churchless In Scotland' Howie

Extract from Table XXXVI

<u>1851</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Congregation</u>	<u>Attendance</u>
Established		1183	351,454
Free		889	292,308
U.P.		465	159,191
E.C. F.C. U.P.)		2,537	802,953
Combined)			
Other Prot.)		858	140,998
R.C.)			
All Denominations	2,888,742	3,395	943,951
 <u>1881</u>			
Established		1,337	318,106
Free		1,052	255,920
U.P.		542	135,968
E.C. F.C. U.P.)		2,931	709,994
Combined)			
Other Prot.)			
R.C.)			
All Denominations	3,735,573		
 <u>1891</u>			
Established		1,419	265,451
Free		1,089	236,806
U.P.		563	119,768
E.C. F.C. U.P.)		3,061	622,025
Combined)			

Shows the increase in number of congregations, and the

decrease in attendance, the attendance figure being taken as the best attendance at the Diet of Worship. The omission in 1881 and 1891 is because the remit changed and the Other Protestant and R.C.'s are now placed separately.

b) The Reverend Professor Archibald Hamilton
Charteris

(i) His Life and Work

(ii) The Baird Lecture

'A raw preacher, thrust for party ends
into a Professor's chair'

A Free Church Critic

(i) His Life and Work

Archibald Hamilton Charteris was born in the schoolhouse of Wamphray village, near Moffat in Upper Annandale in 1835, where his father was the 'maister'. In 1908 his remains were laid to rest in the graveyard of Wamphray Parish Church, and the Auld Kirk of Scotland mourned a national figure - one who had become Professor of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University, Convener of The Christian Life and Work Committee, and Moderator of The General Assembly of The Church of Scotland. This distinguished life had humble origins in a small village of four hundred inhabitants, eight miles from Moffat, and away from the influences of city life. In a remarkable way, Charteris was destined to be the person who attempted to bring back the masses in the industrial heartland of Scotland, to the faith of their fathers.

His early life was shaped by village life. It had its roots in covenanting tradition, and this remained a characteristic of its church life, although when the Disruption overcame Scotland, the congregation and minister remained with the Auld Kirk.

The/

The village school was dominated by his father, who in the best of Scottish scholastic tradition gave an education which was suitable for the laird's son or the pauper's child. It was an all-age school of one hundred and twenty pupils, and they learned the three R's (reading, writing, arithmetic) as well as Bible knowledge and the Catechism, and the pupils with ability learned Latin and Greek. From this small school, with its master earning £34 a year, came 10 ministers, 11 teachers, 19 Doctors, 3 Moderators of the General Assembly.

The village life centred around the farming community, the Church, and the home. Charteris' father was not only school master, but Inspector of the Poor, Elder and Session Clerk of the Kirk.

From an early age Charteris showed astounding academic ability, and was able to read a French fable at five, and by eight years old was reading Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire'. It was natural that he should go on to University, so at the age of fourteen he left Wamphray to start his Arts and Devinity course, at Edinburgh.

University life for Charteris was not just study, he learned how to course for hares, attended political meetings, and enjoyed the Church life of the city.

Like many students he received from his mother a fortnightly box of food, which included oatcakes, eggs, and cakes.

Although the youngest student of his year, he was brilliant, and received commendations from his Professors, including Dr Lee, whom he was to succeed at Edinburgh University. After eight years, Charteris left University and was ordained into his first Parish at St Quivox's Church, Ayr, for the stipend of £120 a year. This was an 'assistant and successor' appointment to Dr McQuhae who had served this mining community well.

Charteris gained a great deal of personal experience in that situation, and learned a great deal about the life of the miners, and their understanding of faith. It is likely that the relationship of the miners to the Church raised questions in his mind, for it was obvious that whilst the farm labourers attended the religious ordinances, the miners rejected them.

"The great fact was the division of the parishoners into colliers and farm people. There was no alliance between the two divisions. There was not even acquaintance. The colliers were little cared for, their cottages were far below the Ayrshire average in accommodation and comfort, and the men themselves were personally unknown outside of their village. Every

farmer's boy thought himself far above the 'Coalers'".

('The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris D.D.L.L.D.'

by The Rev. Hon. Arthur Gordon M.A. P51).

His stay at St Quivox was short, and he moved to New Abbey in 1859, preferred by the Crown, through Mr Charles Baillie, the Lord Advocate. The restoration work at Sweetheart Abbey was started by Charteris and he felt quite at home in ministering in that rural area. It was during his time at New Abbey that it was possible to detect his strong evangelical and pietistic theology which was a characteristic feature of his life. In 1861 he wrote as his New Year Resolution the following confession and resolution, which is so typical of the piety of the Wesleys -

"I have been in the past year indolent, dilatory, shuffling, rash in speech, too familiar in deportment, and neglectful of private devotion.

"I therefore would prayerfully resolve -

"On greater diligence, as manifested in vigorous adherence to division of time for labour, recreation, and rest, especially avoiding too great indulgence in periodical literature.

"On doing at once what is to be done, especially on not trifling away the time in the morning or close up to the hour of appointments.

"On mainly sincerity and truthfulness, being careful in my speech neither to promise more than I can perform, nor to state what is not calculated to give a right impression of the truth.

"On being wary of my remarks, since I know how apt my facility of expression is to commit me ere I wot.

"On being ever conscious of my position as minister of the parish, and endeavouring to keep all intimacy free from familiarity on either side.

"On being more faithful to my own soul, and more assiduous in private devotions, knowing that my work will prosper as my own soul prospereth.

"These resolutions, oh my God, give me strength to perform and keep".

('The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris'

P 72).

During this period of his life he became closely associated with the Endowment Scheme for creating new parishes in Scotland. It was through this work that he became known in the Courts of the Church, and started to mix with the religious and political establishment of the land.

He did not remain at New Abbey for long, and in June 1863 he was inducted to Park Church, Glasgow, one of Scotland's wealthiest charges, and later in the year he married the daughter of Sir Alexander Anderson, The Lord Provost of Aberdeen.

His work at Park Church was extensive, and was marked by his concern for missionary outreach and new church organisations within the parish. He started a Literary Society for members of the church, and he was involved in attempting to bridge the gulf between the working masses and his own church people.

In 1868 he was nominated to the Chair of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities, of Edinburgh University, and found himself at the centre of a bitter row in the General Assembly, and in the press. 'The Battle for The Chair' started as a domestic church argument and ended up as a national fight with poems and pamphlets used in defence of, or against the candidates.

The Reverend Dr Robert Lee was the first incumbent of the Chair, which had been founded in 1846, endowed with one-third of the revenues of the Deanery of the Chapel-Royal. Lee was at the centre of the 'innovations' row which stirred up the Church, and sought to introduce new methods and forms of worship. When he died, it was natural that his followers should lobby for a successor

to be appointed who shared his ideas. The Reverend Dr Robert Wallace of Trinity College Church was the obvious choice, and during Lee's illness he had deputised for him, and was popular with the students.

The establishment however, in the form of the Crown, approached Charteris, and appointed him. This led to an outcry, and a Free Church minister said of Charteris that he was -

'A raw preacher, thrust for party ends into a Professors chair'.

The first two years of his appointment were difficult, as the student body resented his intrusion, but gradually the conflict died and Charteris soon rallied the students around his missionary causes.

He was concerned once again with the poverty he saw around him, and especially near the University, and he was determined to do something to alleviate it.

" he saw that district with its frowsy inhabitants, its narrow, dim and dirty closes, and all its terrible conditions - tolerated only because people cannot be induced to think over and to realise the meanness and squalor, cannot be roused to recognise each his own responsibility in the matter - his heart was stirred within him, and as a champion of the endowed territorial

system he set to work at once to remove this blot on the fair scutcheon of the city and the Church".

(*'Memoir of Professor Charteris'* by
the Reverend Kenneth D McLaren P 51).

The Tolbooth Parish Church became the centre of his activities, and he encouraged young men of 'higher social standing' to play games, read and provide music for the 'rough lads' of the Lawnmarket.

Charteris also saw the need for a great national missionary enterprise, but he was aware that he must take the General Assembly with him. In 1869, an Overture was presented to the Assembly, and was accepted which created The Christian Life and Work Committee. It was undoubtedly his brain child, and he convened it from its inception until ill health made him resign in 1894. Charteris used this Committee as a catalyst for his ideas of change in the Church. He realised from his own personal parish experience that the Auld Kirk must keep astride of the times, and he was perceptive enough to realise that to change the structures, it was necessary to work through the existing ones. At the unusually early age of 56, he was elected Moderator of The General Assembly, and in 1906 his portrait was painted and presented to the Church of Scotland by his friends. In 1908 he died,

and his remains were laid to rest in Wamphray
kirk yard, where he had walked as a child. In
1911, the foundation stone of Charteris Memorial
Church was laid, designed to complete the Deaconess
Mission and Training Institution and hospital in the
Pleasance.



Above: Wamphray Churchyard - Burial place of A.H. Charteris.

Right: Tombstone of
Wamphray of
A.H. Charteris.





Above:

General view showing Charteris Memorial Church, Sr. Ninian's Training Centre and Deaconess Hospital.

Below:

Front of the Deaconess Hospital showing motto Christo in Pauperibus a motto central to Charteris' theology.





Above: Under the motto sign, showing foundation date and that the Hospital was a memorial to Lady Grisell Baillie, the first deaconess.

Below: Next to the Hospital is the Charteris Memorial Church. Here we see the foundation stone.

The Church completes the complex of Hospital, Training Centre and Church (see previous page)



(ii) The Baird Lecture

The Baird Lectures were established in 1871 on the benefaction of James Baird, an ironmaster who also created a trust fund for the use of the Church in Scotland. The purpose of the lectures was to defend orthodox Presbyterian teaching, and the stipulation was made that the lecturer must be a minister of the Church of Scotland. Charteris was invited to deliver his series of lectures in 1887, eighteen years after the Christian Life and Work Committee had been constituted by the General Assembly. He chose as his subject 'The Church of Christ - Its Life and Work'. (An attempt to trace the work of the Church in some of its earliest departments from the earliest times to the present day). The lectures were not published until 1905, owing to illness.

The relationship between the work of the Christian Life and Work Committee and the lectures is interesting, for it would appear that Charteris had a clear understanding of the aims and goals of the Committee in relationship to the changing society of his time. He was aware of the great stir that was going on around him, and his passionate desire was to make the Church of Scotland relevant to the age.

"We are again in an age of fermentation, when old foundations, social and political as well as religious, are being tested, and when the old bonds seem to be unable to hold men together. The relation of Capital to Labour, the ownership of property, especially of property in land, the division of society into hereditary classes, the ancient formulae of sacred faith, nay, the faith itself, - on all of them a strong hand is laid, calling them to account for their present position. It is not enough to say that the Christian Church is not sufficiently powerful to keep men from faction and partisanship for one must add that the teachings of the Gospel are not even appealed to as adequate and final directions to right conduct amid the strife of things. Not only is the Church neglected by many, but its very basis is called in question or ignored".

('The Church of Christ - Baird Lecture 1887')

P 2 - Charteris)

His personal experience as a Parish Minister made him realise that the Church needed renewed structures, and in some parishes a re-awakening of the church at the heart of the community was required. He wanted the church to return to its New Testament ideals, and saw in the church of the first few centuries a caring and compassionate company of people. The rigid tradition of Presbyterianism thwarted progress -

"It is the era of the peoples' power; and the Presbyterian Church is the peoples' Church or ought to be; and it would be if Elders were chosen in sufficient numbers and were sufficiently in earnest about work to represent a working membership. Elders ought to be chosen by the people; not nominated by their predecessors and the minister. The present practice of nomination of new Elders by existing Elders in the Church of Scotland is a grotesque survival from a troublous time".

('Baird Lecture' p 42).

His interpretation of the gospel for the age was realistic, more than radical. The concept of class in society troubled him, and he saw no comfort in the religion of Jesus for the rich or the learned.

When he considered the needs of the poor he reverted back to the type of care that Chalmers provided in St John's Parish, Glasgow, where the church was responsible for the poor in its own area.

He regarded the erosion of the Church's responsibility towards the poor by the State as a retrograde step, and felt that the State was unable to provide for their needs.

"First, that every congregation should maintain its own poor members, and keep them from the hopeless brand of State pauperism, and, second, that when any church or

congregation undertakes a mission in a poor district, or subdivision of a town or country village, it should hold itself bound to supply the wants of the deserving poor within that territory, if they will accept its ministrations, as I believe they would. To restore the buried doctrine of some correspondence between character and relief, to give, that is to say, to the administrators of relief the right to consider the past history and present life of the recipient, would do more to raise the moral tone of our pauper population than all other means put together".

('Baird Lecture' P 116)

The state had taken away from the Church the obligation of poor relief, and as this was central to the teaching of the Gospel it undermined the witness of the church. The disunity of the Churches in Scotland also restricted their ability to alleviate poverty, for there was no co-ordination of effort.

As Charteris notes in his lectures, the debate concerning the case of the poor in Scotland had taken place in 1844, when the Scottish Poor Law was enacted, and the view of Dr W P Alison was that the law using the voluntary contributions of the Church was inadequate in its operation and function, and needed re-newing. That Charteris imagined that the poor would be better served by the Church is surprising.

However/

However, he was able to see a need in the lack of health provision for the poor, and in 1886 the suggestion that an Order of Deaconesses, who would serve as mission nurses, should be formed, was accepted by the General Assembly. A Deaconess House was established for training, and then a Deaconess Hospital was opened where the candidates were trained in caring for the sick. It was his insight that women had a primary role to play in the life of the Church and not a secondary one, which marked out Charteris as a prophetic figure. He was able to see that their duties within the Church might be different from men, but were just as important.

The most important section of his Baird Lectures, is the one entitled 'The Church as a Society', where he considered the place and role of the Church in the World. He saw the Church in opposition to the World, and saw its need to separate itself from the World.

"The Church, like its Master, will always refuse to be a ruler and a judge, so as to divide the inheritance between contending claimants, but the Church has a message to demand generosity of the men who amass fortunes, a message to enjoin steady industry on the men who are poor, that she has been afraid to proclaim in tones that would be heard above the din of gathering battle.

What/

What is the Church we need in these days? It is not a Sunday lounge, cushioned, and shaded, and filled with sweet sounds. It is not a society for the discovery of speculative truth. It is not an alliance for the endowment of research, whether theological, philosophical, or physical. It is not a club to promote pleasant and profitable fellowship. Not any one of those, though all that is best in each of them is in the Church. It is a society of redeeming work upon the earth, bringing sight to the blind, freedom to the captive, the Gospel of God's love to the poor. We can often heal, we can always soothe; we can often break the chains of captivity, we can always minister to those in bonds. And while the heart has woes and the frame has ills, and society has troubles, there will be the same work of loving-kindness for Christ's people to do as He did in Israel. 'Greater works than these shall ye do. I go unto My Father'. "

("Baird Lecture" P237)

The Baird Lectures reflect and interpret Charteris's understanding of the Church in his age. The lectures are based on his own practical experience, and the new structures that he was introducing at the time. It is wrong to read them expecting a theological treatise; instead they offer a 'blue print' for renewal of the Auld Kirk, which Charteris was presenting to successive General Assemblies through the Christian Life and Work Committee.

(C) The Christian Life and Work Committee
 - A summary of the reports 1869 - 1914

"In January Mr Robertson, at the request of the minister, attended a highly interesting meeting in the parish of Longforgan. For several years a Church of Scotland Ploughman's Union has existed there. Two leading proprietors and the parish minister are among the office-bearers. Its membership includes almost all the ploughmen in the parish In every farm cottage and bothy a card is hung, before the new comers arrive, stating the hours of divine service and the number or name of the seat in church which the servants of that farm are in the habit of occupying"

(Extract Christian Life and Work Committee,
1896). P. 552

The Christian Life and Work Committee of the Church of Scotland was established in 1869, by the General Assembly, after an Overture presented by The Rev. Professor A H Charteris. It was moved and agreed -

"That a Committee be appointed to inquire as to the progress of Christian work in the country, and further to consider and report as to the best means of promoting evangelistic efforts, and of guiding those engaged in them, so as to secure their co-operation with the Office-bearers of the Church, in order that the Ministry of the Church may be aided by voluntary Christian efforts and that the pastoral superintendence of her Ministers may be enjoyed by those whom such efforts have gathered in".

(General Assembly Reports, 1869 P 56)

The Committee decided to enquire into the state of the Parishes in Scotland, and prepared extensive questionnaires to be answered by Ministers and Kirk Sessions. There was a certain amount of resentment within the Church to this approach, and for the first five years many Parishes refused to answer, as they did not take kindly to form-filling.

The first Schedule that the Committee presented consisted of the following questions.

1. What is your impression as to the state of religion in general in your district?
2. What voluntary work is at present actually done by others than Ministers, especially Elders in your district?
3. What do you propose as the best means of promoting evangelistic efforts, and of so guiding those engaged in them, as to secure their co-operation with the office bearers of the Church?

The Committee reported that it had received "a large number of returns, though certainly not so large as is to be desired or even might be expected. They have only received two replies from Ministers in Glasgow, one from an Edinburgh Minister, one from Dundee" However by 1871 the Committee were reporting to the General Assembly that "between 500 and 600 replies have been made".

Through the 'Queries', the Committee attempted to build up a picture of the state of the Church. In 1871 they concentrated on the "agencies or means of grace" which were supplementary to the regular diet of worship. By 1872 the 'Queries' demanded long and thoughtful answers, and had moved from simple questions to the need for the Ministers and Sessions to indulge in guess-work or simple surveys.

Query 1 1871

Public Worship

Would you classify your Parishoners under the heads of

1st Church going 2nd Neglecting Ordinances, and
would you further estimate, so far as you can, the
numbers of the Protestant Church - going populations
adhering 1st to the Church of Scotland 2nd to
Other Protestant Churches?

Would you further mention the classes among whom you
find Church going chiefly neglected; and indicate the
hinderances to regular attendance which may arise from
the nature of local occupation, local custom?

Query VII Change of Residence

What proportion

1st of your Parishoners

2nd of your congregation - leave your Parish every
year?

Is it your opinion that this leads to many falling
away from religious profession or from connection with
the Church of Scotland?

What means do you use or suggest to counteract the
evil if it exists?

Do you usually accompany the Disjunction Certificate
with a letter to the Minister in whose Parish the
person you certify proposes to reside?

The response to the 1872 Schedule was once again between 500 and 600 replies, and the Committee report comments that

"the poor of the country in a very large proportion adhere to and depend on the Church ... the poor look to the Church, and more gladly welcome the Church of Scotland Ministers than any other".

(General Assembly Reports, 1872 P 420)

The Committee instituted the sending of 'deputations' to the parishes of Ministers who applied to the Committee for assistance. The assistance given is not elaborated upon, although in the 1873 Report the Presbyteries of Lauder, Dunblane, Auchterarder objected to the 'Queries' as 'enormous labour', and this could be a plea for help in answering the questions!

The 1873 Report is interesting for it presented to the General Assembly some of the answers to the Queries, contained in the Schedules.

- "regular visitation is indispensable to bringing out to Church those who are now careless;
'include services for the young'"
- "In most of the parishes where a considerable part of the population is employed in mines or in factories there seems to be an increase of indulgence and

extravagance. The Schedules from such parishes do not bear that the workers are making use of their large increase in wages to provide for the future".

By 1874 the Committee was gradually receiving impressions of the life and work of the Church of Scotland in town and country areas.

There was a growing awareness that all was not well, and that the Church was not functioning as it ought, and a realisation that large numbers of the working class in the towns were not in any relationship to the Church. However there was a reluctance to admit that any other Churches were successful - especially the Roman Catholic Church.

The Report of 1875 suggested that Lay Agents should be used in the work of the Church. This was one of the first recommendations of the Committee, and it is interesting that it came before the Assembly the year after the evangelical crusades of Moody and Sankey, which Charteris supported, Lay work in the Church of Scotland originated from this report, and the intention was that the workers should 'excavate' the non-church going population and return them to the pew.

In an attempt to determine the success and impact of Moody and Sankey, the fifth Query of the Schedule asked

Query V

Kindly give an account of any important religious movement which may come to your notice.

Twenty six replies from Edinburgh Presbytery had nothing special to report, and one stated "I have not observed any strange or miraculous movement, but , gladly recognise in many professing Christians the work of faith and the fruits of righteousness".

Glasgow Presbytery included twenty three returns with nothing special to report, and one which stated

"My experience of the so-called Revival Movement is an illustration of the proverb 'much cry and little wool'."

By 1876 the attention of the Committee was directed to the Christian literature available to Church members, and the number of occasions the Minister met with young Communicants.

There was an abundance of magazines for members to read, especially on a Sunday -

'Sunday at Home', 'Good Words', 'The British Workman',
'The Monthly Visitor', 'The Sunday Magazine',
'Leisure Hour', 'Day of Rest', 'Times of Blessing',

The Report suggested that the three Presbyterian Churches

Free Church, United Presbyterian, and Church of Scotland should combine to provide something suitable for their members and adherents.

The number of times ministers met communicants was recorded - out of 755 replies the analysis was as follows -

6	Ministers meet with them	1
13		2
17		3
100		4
382		5-8
88		9-12
23		oftener
97		no class
29		only a Bible Class

It was in this Report that the rationale for the work of the Committee was suggested in a clearer and more positive way than at any time previously. The way ahead was also indicated for further developments.

"In putting themselves at the service of the Assembly, it is a source of gratification to the Committee to recall that through their instrumentality all the Presbyteries of the Church have been led to consider at the same time certain selected subjects; and thus a body of information, which could not easily be obtained in any other way, has been set before this Assembly and the whole Church".

(Christian Life and Work Committee, General Assembly Reports, 1876) P. 482

The Committee reports from 1877 - 1886 continued to suggest ways of improving the structure and organisation of the Church in an attempt to make it a missionary church relevant to the age. However, it would appear that there was only a slow dawning of the immense social problems which had changed the life style of so many Scottish people. The 1877 re-commendations included a Training College for Lay Agents, the creation of a Society of Deaconesses, and the introduction of 'Lines' for Church Members, so that when Members moved from one Church to another, they were able to 'transfer' easily.

The Queries about Sunday Schools, and the answers received, indicated that the Sunday Schools were having grave problems recruiting teachers.

- " 1. That no uniform standard of qualification is applied to Sunday School teachers, and the Church has done nothing to improve such a standard.
2. That the present Sunday School teachers are in many cases young men and women, and that the members of the Church who have experienced and matured information are largely keeping apart from the important work of the Sunday School.

3. /

3. That about 1/8th of the teachers are non-communicants "

(General Assembly Reports, 1877, Christian Life and Work Committee). P. 561

The Query on 'Intemperance' received some instructive responses from the Parishes.

"Intemperance in Glasgow is the curse of curses"

Glasgow Minister

"The Vice prevails here to a most alarming extent. It is bringing poverty and wretchedness to many a home, and I have no doubt seriously affecting the attendance at our churches and causing many to live in the total neglect of all religious ordinances "

Country Minister

The Report analysed the causes as

- " (a) Increased wages
(b) Increased facilities for obtaining intoxicating drink through the granting of new licences to grocers and public houses.
(c) want of education
(d) less home discipline
(e) lack of rational amusements to fill up the spare time of working people".

and concluded -

"Crime and impurity are still large factors in our national life and ought to stimulate the Church in preaching and obeying the Gospel of self-denial and holiness".

It was only in 1878 that there were replies suggesting that especially in the towns, the Church was unable to hold large numbers of the population. The 'Query' which indicated the problem, though not its size, was

"What means do you consider, from experience, best fitted to recover those who neglect wholly or to a large extent the ordinances of the Church of Christ with special reference to

- (a) Church attendance
- (b) Baptism
- (c) The Lord's Supper? "

The replies indicated that there were no problems in the country, and the neglect of the ordinances was due to 'lack of self-control', 'drunkenness', and the 'carelessness of parents' in the cities.

By 1879, the Church Magazine, 'Life and Work' had been founded with a circulation of 72,000, in an attempt to cater for the young, the old, and the family, as well as 'to confirm the faith and to form character'.

The Reports of 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884 were continuing reports of the Committee, consolidating the many activities started in previous years. The Deputation work to the Presbyteries continued, as did the production of 'Life and Work'.

There was an appeal to recruit young men for the ministry from the 'upper ranks of society', (1880) and a word of appreciation for the 'Lady Missionaries' serving with the fishing fleet. -

"Many of the girls can scarcely believe at first in one of their own sex, of a rank above their own, being so moved by the highest motives as to desire to know them and help them".

(General Assembly Reports, 1882, Christian
Life and Work Committee) P 472

In 1885 and 1886 there was a growing awareness that the 'alienation of the poor' was a problem which must be faced. This was reflected in the 'Queries' which requested ministers to estimate the number of people in their Parish who had no connection with the Church. The Seat Rent problem was raised, and this was considered to be one of the major stumbling blocks to the attendance of the Poor. The Assembly "enjoins all concerned in the administration of Churches to see that the poor are invited and welcomed to seats

in the Parish Church "

(General Assembly Reports, 1886, Christian
Life and Work Committee) P. 470

The Seat Rent problem was high-lighted by the report from
Linlithgow where the Town Council purchased half the
seats in the Parish Church in the early 1800's and
sold them to the highest bidders, realizing the sum
of £2,000 for Council funds. The Report continued -

"The result is that we have a large amount of
'private property' within the walls of the parish
Church, some of which is held by Dissenters"

(General Assembly Reports, 1886, Christian
Life and Work Committee) P. 405

The organisation of Womens' Work within the Church
originated from the suggestions to the Assembly in
1886. There was a need for women to distribute tracts,
visit the poor, collect for charitable purposes and
raise money for overseas missions. A Guild consisted
of two classes of women - those engaged in the word
of Christ in the Church - and those in the higher grade
who would be Sabbath School Teachers, nurses, Bible
Class Leaders.

Drummond & Bulloch in 'The Church in Late Victorian

Scotland' write of the formation of the Woman's Guild.

"Until now the Church of Scotland, so far as its appointed servants were concerned, had been a male preserve. Woman found a place only overseas in the mission field. In 1885 he (i.e. Charteris) raised the matter in the General Assembly and two years later in his Baird Lectures he set out to justify the innovation on Biblical grounds and disarm prejudice".

('The Church in Late Victorian Scotland'

Drummond & Bulloch P 169)

From 1886 onwards, the Reports of The Christian Life and Work Committee were concerned increasingly with social conditions. The problems of intemperance, seat rents, and dis-association from the Church by the poor were given more significance in the reports, and 'alienation' of the masses was spoken about openly in the Assembly. It is possible at this stage that the main reason for asking the questions was a concern for empty pews, and that the committee were unaware of the great social turmoil in society. There was little conception of the rift between the masses and the Church as a middle and upper class structure, usually identified with the establishment of Monarchy and landed gentry.

By 1888 the problem of 'alienation' was causing such concern that the second query asked -

"What do the Kirk Session regard as the chief causes of that 'alienation' from the Church?".

(General Assembly Reports, 1888, Christian Life and Work Committee) P. 447

The answers were varied:-.

Intemperance

Dull trade, poverty, carelessness, indifference

low religious tone

migratory habits

seat rents

want of parental authority

late hours on Saturday

debasing influence of Romanism

football

plymouthism

non-attractive services

cheap and unhealthy literature

4/5ths of the returns included intemperance, and the conclusion of the Committee was

"It is intemperance which makes men poor and causes them to lose their situations. It is this also which makes the poor men often glad to take the hardest work, and in such amount as wears him out, so that even if sober, he has no strength or hopefulness left in him to go to Church when Sunday comes".

(General Assembly Reports, 1888, Christian Life and Work Committee) P. 449

Along with the Home Mission Committee and the Presbytery of Glasgow Commission on Housing plus the Christian Life and Work Committee Reports there was ample evidence before the General Assembly that something more was needed to analyse the problem.

In 1888 the Assembly constituted a Committee on Non-Church going, and requested it to present a report to the Assembly as soon as possible. Under the Convenership of The Reverend Dr Donald Macleod the Committee presented its first Report in 1889. Its report will be considered later.

Throughout the first twenty years of The Christian Life and Work Committee a gradual realisation of the immense problems created by industrialisation came to the fore. However it was only in 1888 that the report presented to the Assembly the relationship between 'poverty' and 'alienation from the ordinances of the Church'.

"Closely connected with poverty, the Church has got this problem to face - Why should poverty be a cause of alienation? Is not the Gospel intended to be preached to the poor? Is there anything in the present state of our Church organisation or life which is repellant to the poor, or an obstacle to prevent them having the ordinances and blessings of religion?"

(General Assembly Reports, 1888, Christian Life and Work Committee) P. 458

Undoubtedly the Queries had created the arena for a more intensive examination of the structure of the Church, and an opportunity for Charteris to implement his plan as outlined in The Baird Lecture.

The Report of 1892 was given under ten headings which were concerned with the structures of the organisations created by the Committee. The Woman's Guild with its 141 branches had 10,244 members, and 'Life and Work' magazine in its 14th year of Publication was selling 100,000 copies.

"The Committee spare no expense to carry out one of their aims, which is to send the best art - and especially Scottish art - into the homes of the people. It is a great pleasure to them that their constant friend, to whose guidance they look in any difficulty connected with the illustrations of the Magazine is now Sir George Reid, President of The Royal Scottish Academy".

(General Assembly Reports, 1892, Christian Life and Work Committee P551).

The Queries for this year included one on Sunday Labour, requesting any information on work which prevented due observance of that day and to debar them from public worship.

75 Presbyteries were circulated which consisted of

1,257 Parishes. 9 Presbyteries failed to report,
as did 235 Parishes.

1002 Parishes considered the Report.

434 stated that there was no unnecessary work in the
Parish on the Sabbath.

209 reported only the tending of horses and sheep whilst
379 reported various kinds of secular work.

From Cadzow came this comment from a collier -

"I go on one week on the Saturday morning at seven
o'clock, and do not get off until the Sunday morning at
seven o'clock (twenty four hours of a stretch). The
other week I come off on Saturday morning at seven, and
do not go on until Sunday morning at seven. I then
come off at five o'clock the same evening"

(General Assembly Reports, 1892, Christian
Life and Work Committee P 569)

Professor Charteris resigned from the Convenorship
in 1894, and by 1895 his vision of a Hospital run by
The Church of Scotland had become a reality, with
The Deaconess Hospital being opened and dedicated in
memory of Lady Grisell Baillie, the first Deaconess
in the Church of Scotland.

A small Commission of the Committee was set up to
visit the Gaelic-speaking areas which had not been

visited. From the Presbytery of Tongue came a report which stated that within the Presbytery there were three Parishes with no Sabbath School, and only six Parishes had a regularly-constituted Kirk Session, and four Parishes had no elders whatsoever.

By 1899 the Christian Life and Work Committee had sub-divided the work into

- (i) The Development of Christian Work
- (ii) The Promotion of Evangelistic Effort
- (iii) Publications
- (iv) Finance

The emphasis had moved from the 'Queries' to ways and methods of Mission. The St Ninian's Mission had started a Fufteen Club where members were encouraged not to gamble. The development of a District Nursing Service was reported, with 4,617 visits being made.

By 1904 the Committee's concern for farm workers was shown by the appointment of a Miss Howatson as an evangelist who 'has a great sympathy with farm servants as a class, and shows much tact in gaining their confidence'.

The work amongst 'Tinkers' was taken up in 1906 and a Committee was appointed that year to consider the most effective way of ministering to this class of

people. This matter was raised in 1907 when The Secretary of State for Scotland was asked to provide compulsory education for gypsy and tinker children.

By 1912, the 44th year of the Committee's reporting there was a repetition of the work undertaken in previous years. 'Non Church Going' had once again become an issue, and many of the causes were referred to as if they had never been dealt with before.

"Among the causes tending to produce the present state of things, attention was directed to indifference, intemperance, secularism and non-christian socialism; and the need was emphasised for these things being met by definite Gospel teaching and practise"

(General Assembly Reports, 1912, Christian Life and Work Committee P 621)

There was also an appeal and reminder to congregations and perhaps the Ministers that

".....the main purpose for which our people are called to assemble in God's house is not that they may be entertained by an interesting or brilliant preacher, but that they may unite with their brethern in offering public worship to God"

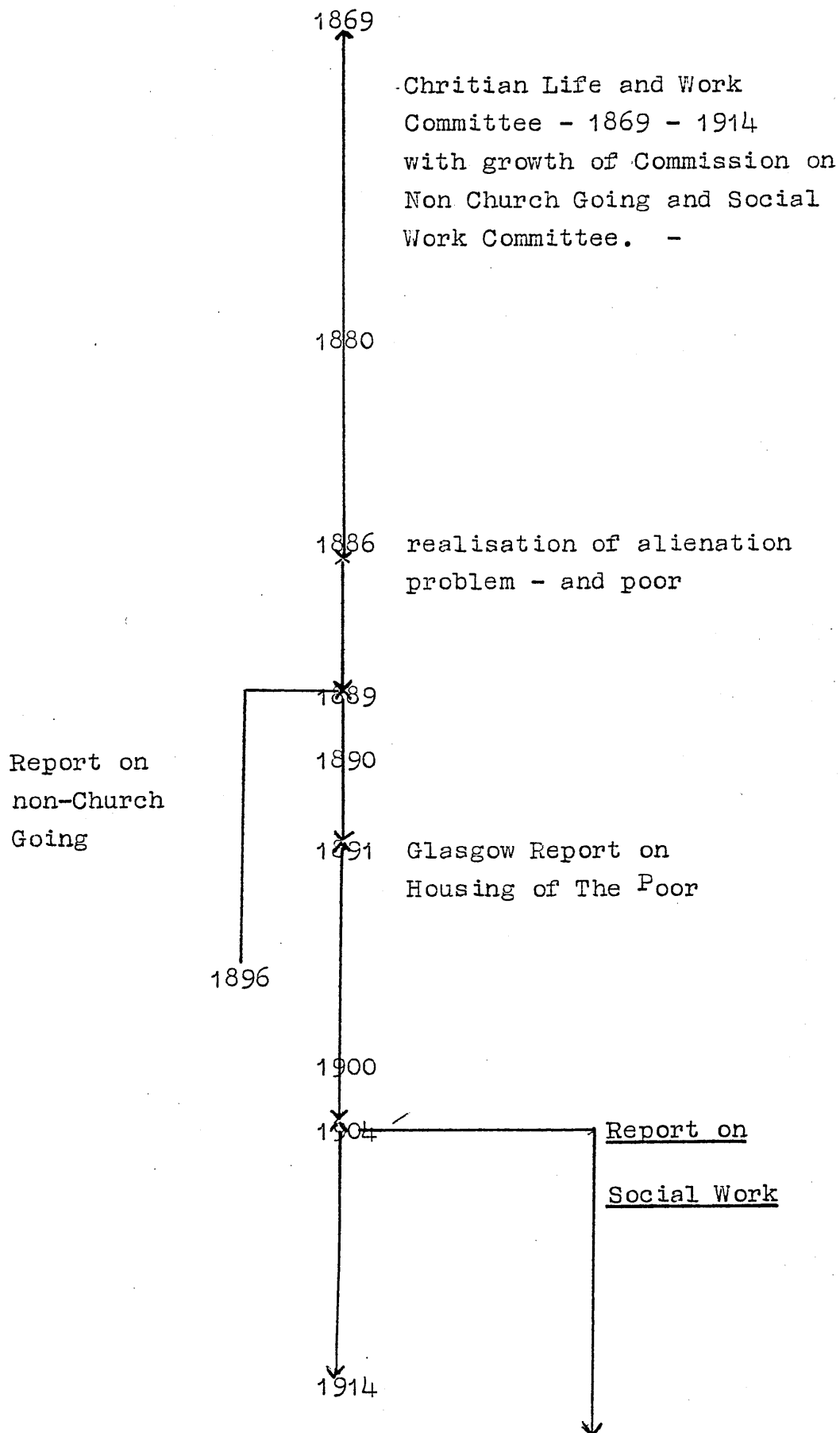
(General Assembly Reports, 1912, Christian Life and Work Committee P 622)

By 1914 the Committee were able to report to the General Assembly that

"Dr Wallace Williamson was good enough to be present at the twenty second Annual social meeting of farm servants at Logie, Bridge of Allan, the first time a Moderator has taken part in such a function"

(General Assembly Reports, 1914,
Christian Life and Work Committee) P. 613

Development of General Assembly Committees
concerned with Social Problems



(d) Practical Responses initiated by the General
Assembly of the Church of Scotland

"It is intolerable that in a civilised
community, so vast a number of dissolute,
lazy idlers should be permitted to overflow
the country and live on the fruits of
plunder"

(Presbytery of Glasgow Commission

1891, P32)

The practical response which evolved from the Christian Life and Work Committee was two fold. Firstly, new organisations and structures were created within the Church of Scotland to meet the needs of the church goers, and to provide fellowship along with Christian education for the people who attended. This embraced all age groups, and both sexes.

Secondly, the General Assembly was disturbed by some of the reports of The Christian Life and Work Committee, and gradually it saw that the problem of 'alienation' of the working classes was a reality, although there were attempts to disguise the obvious conclusions that in large areas of Scotland the Church had no meaningful relationship to the population. The poverty of the people, the bad housing conditions and the lack of education resulted in a great mass of working people who felt divorced from the institution of the Church, and who had never heard the Gospel. The collier that Charteris met at St Quivox could be considered quite typical of the 'alienated masses'. He asked Charteris to 'name his bairn' and to the question "Do you know about Jesus who commanded us to baptize?" replied "Jesus? I have heard the name but I dont know about him".

"What have you heard?"

"I heard them speaking about him in the pit"

"What did they say about Him?"

"Not much. They said 'By Jesus!'"

('The Life of A H Charteris' P51 Gordon)

This incident occurred in 1858, but it was not until the 1880's that the Assembly attempted to analyse the problem.

In 1889 it received The Report on Non-Church Going, and in 1891 it established a Commission to consider The Religious Condition of The People. Glasgow Presbytery also carried out its own investigation and in 1891 the Report of the Commission set up to carry out this investigation was published. It was entitled 'The Housing of the Poor in Relation to their Social Condition'. In 1904 the Social Work Committee of the Church of Scotland was formed, and it very quickly became involved in opening institutions for a variety of different groups within the working class community.

The reports give an indication of the concern of the Church, and suggest the thrust of the missionary enterprise.

The Report on Non-Church-Going to The General
Assembly 1889

The Report on The Religious Condition of The People
1891 - 1896

The Report of The Commission on The Housing of
The Poor in relation to their Social Condition
(Glasgow Presbytery 1891)

The Reports of The Social Work Committee of
The Church of Scotland 1904 - 1914

The Report on Non-Church-Going to The General
Assembly 1889

In 1888 the General Assembly issued an injunction
which stated

"The General Assembly having taken into consideration
the information regarding the causes of Non-Church-
Going commends the subject anew to the consideration
of all the inferior courts"

(General Assembly Reports, 1889. Report on
Non-Church Going P389)

The Committee followed the method of The Christian
Life and Work Committee and suggested reasons for
Non-Church Going to the Presbyteries.

- I (a) The extent to which non-church-going exists
within the bounds,
- (b) the classes embraced, and
- (c) how far to be attributed to the following or
other causes:-
1. Intemperance
 2. Scepticism
 3. Poverty
 4. Housing of poor and physical environment
 5. Religious indifference
 - 6./

6. Allocation of seats in Church, whether with rents or not
7. Unsuitableness of the services as to (a) frequency (b) time and (c) character
8. Inadequate pastoral supervision through increased population of Parishes
9. Inadequate provision for the Young
10. The effect of Sectarianism
11. Sunday labour ; its nature and extent

(General Assembly Reports, 1889 P 390)

Although the General Assembly enjoined the Presbyteries to answer the Queries, 27 Presbyteries declined to answer. Of those that did answer, there is no ordered methodological approach concerning the replies.

e.g. Edinburgh Presbytery suggest the figure is from 3% - 33%. Dunblane Presbytery suggest it is from 4% to 18%, average $3\frac{1}{4}\%$. Elgin Presbytery suggest it is "not great" and Tongue Presbytery reply that "people are attending Church well, but chiefly the Free Church".

The Report for 1890 suggested that the alleged causes for non-church-going are really the results of neglect of the ordinances of the Church. If people attended Church regularly, and made it habit forming, then many of their problems would be solved. If the men spent less money on drink and 'low amusements' then the children would be educated and the families could live in comfortable homes.

The seven day working week was condemned by the Committee because it tempted the working men to

"involve themselves in consequences which tend to deterioration both of character and social conditions"

(General Assembly Reports, 1890 Report on Non-Church Going P 912)

There was a realisation that social conditions were keeping people from the Church but an inability to see the conditions in their stark reality.

The structure of the Church was blamed for not providing adequate resources for the non-churched, but there was no attempt to examine the underlying theological problems. 'Alienation' was seen as separation of the poor from ordinances, and was never regarded as the alienation of the church from its servant role. It was felt that the problem of non-church going would be solved if the Parish system was working effectively, and the massive increase in the population had not caused undue stress on the structure. Many Parish churches were more congregational in their attitude, and the efforts of the ministers were concentrated on a small number of people in relationship to the total parish. On the other hand large numbers in a congregation created the situation where the Minister was unable to look to the needs of the Parish.

The remedy for non-church-going was suggested to be:-

"Secure the vigorous application all over the country of the Parochial system".

(General Assembly Reports, 1890 Report on Non-Church Going P916)

The Committee on Non-Church Going concluded its Report, and the General Assembly for 1890 then appointed a Commission of Assembly to examine and determine 'The Religious Condition of The People'.

Commission on The Religious Condition of The People

27 May, 1891

The Remit of the Commission was :

- " 1) to communicate to Synods and Presbyteries with all convenient speed the Deliverance of The General Assembly
- 2) To visit and confer with Synods and Presbyteries with a view to aiding them in ascertaining the extent to which spiritual destitution exists within the bounds "

(General Assembly Reports, 1891, Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People, P 979)

The Commission visited the Synods and Presbyteries taking evidence and reporting to successive General Assemblies for six years.

There was an admission that 'religious indifference' existed, and that it was related to social conditions and working environment. The collier, because he worked underground, tended to be dull as far as the spiritual side of his nature was concerned. The iron and steel workers who worked 'shifts' as they are called was unable to attend church and especially those on the Saturday night shift were too tired for worship,

nor were they inclined to dress for church, because they would have needed to change back into their working clothes after the service.

The housing conditions which members of the Commission saw were deplorable.

"The mud, the filthy soil before the houses, the foul sanitary conditions, the untidiness of many of the houses, the sight of the children playing in the midst of the dirt and pollutions, the number of men out of work in houses and about doors - these and other features left a painful impression"

(General Assembly Reports, 1891, Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People P988)

The Commission were aware that the traditional academic training for the ministry was in itself a process of alienation from the people, and it suggested that a "Salvation army type person" would relate in a more realistic way than the university graduate. Such people

"if not possessing much Greek, have much grace and some gumption"

and would be better able to communicate the Gospel to the people.

The visitation to the Presbyteries brought some interesting responses in the report. A farmer in Lanark stated

"I have had some servants who would rather leave my service than attend family worship. If I asked a blessing on the meat set before us, they would rather go behind the door than sit and hear it"

(General Assembly Reports, 1892, Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People, P 949)

The visitation to Glasgow confirmed the 'alienation' of the poor suggested in the Christian Life and Work Committee Report. The housing conditions were seen to be of a level unimagined by many of the visitors, and the wages were very low, averaging less than 20 shillings per week for a skilled man, and often less than 14 shillings per week for an unskilled man.

The incidence of non-church going was estimated at 200,000, or perhaps 300,000 or perhaps 500,000, and there was no attempt to discover the exact figure; there was an awareness that the problem was far greater than ever expected.

"Great masses of the population of Glasgow look upon the Church as something for ministers, or something to be made out of them, not

something to be given them"

(General Assembly Reports, 1892, Report of the
Commission on the Religious Condition of the
People, P 964)

The Report for 1892 confirmed that some of the housing
conditions in Glasgow were -

"mean, sordid and scantily furnished. Many
have neither bed nor bedding; the fire beams
low, the air is tainted, the dull monotony
of life is only broken by bursts of drunkenness
and riot. Of course where such conditions
exist, a religious tone is not to be found"

(General Assembly Reports, 1892, Report of the
Commission on the Religious Condition of the
People P 955)

The comments from the Forfar and Dundee ministers are
interesting, because they suggested that in the former,
the working class were exceptionally sober, although
the illegitimacy rate was higher than anywhere in
Scotland at 95/1000 births. In the latter report it was
stated -

"It is well that it should be understood, and it has
been forcibly brought out that the Established Church

is the Church of the poor"

(General Assembly Reports, 1892, Report of the
Commission on the Religious Condition of the
People P 988)

When the Commission visited the country areas it
criticised also the conditions of employment as well
as the method of "taking men on" at the Hiring Markets
which were held quarterly in market towns.

The 'alienation' of the farm-labouring class was
recognised and by 1894 the General Assembly was
commending to its Commissioners the "action of every
county council and landed proprietor who is improving
the social conditions of the working class".

The Final Report of the Commission was presented in
1896 with the extracts from evidence gathered in
Earlston, Swinton and Carnock. One of the notable
features of this Report is the randomness of the
matters dealt with.

In Swinton the gypsy families were called 'Muggers'
because they sold mugs to the local populace. However,
they never attended Church services.

The sin of Bicycling was catching on and many of
the young men went on day excursions, riding through

the Parishes when Divine Service was being held.

The Commission's deep regret at the accident to the Reverend Thomas Martin was recorded.

"On leaving Gordon village after service, the horse fell and Mr Martin was thrown from the dog cart right over its head, receiving severe injuries from which he did not recover from many months".

(General Assembly Reports, 1896, Report of the
Commission on the Religious Condition of the
People P 750)

The visit to the Synods of Sutherland, Caithness and Ross were commended in the following words -

"When they recall the forlorn condition of the Church of Scotland in these parts after the secession of 1843, they are thankful for the tokens of improvement mentioned in the Report - the renovation of Churches, the subsidence of the bitter feelings which the Church for many years encountered, and the enlarging opportunity of usefulness which is presented.

(General Assembly Reports, 1896, Report of the
Commission on the Religious Condition of the
People P 864)

The Final Report of the Commission identified the moral and social causes which created problems in the population, such as imterperance, impurity, betting and gambling. A new vision was required -

"A richer and purer environment - better homes, more of sweetness and light in dwelling and life - must be realized. The spread of education, though it has not accomplished all that was eagerly anticipated when education was made compulsory, has done much and will do more

We may hope for a better day, when all effort is baptized anew with the Holy Ghost, and the Gospel of God's Kingdom is manifested with new power and glory in a purified and quickened Church"

(General Assembly Reports, 1896 Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People P 815)

"Moral^{ity} was continually interpreted in terms related to sexual relationships, and the increase of the number of illegitimate children -

"Defective house accommodation, altered social arrangements, the intercourse of the sexes in the fields at work, the influence of race, the want of parental training, the laxity of Church discipline - all these and many more have been alleged as the

causes of the evil "

(General Assembly Reports, 1896, Report of the
Commission on the Religious Condition of the
People, P 815)

It was suggested that a full membership in the Church would be a restraining influence on the sexual desires of the population. Mr Weir, the minister of Greyfriars Dumfries produced figures which showed that in 19 of the 25 parishes of the Presbytery the percentage of illegitimate children whose mothers were communicant was 11.2% - falling to 4.9% in parishes with a town population.

The causes of non-church-going were suggested to be "too subtle and various to be fully stated, but some touch on labour, amusement, personal habits, church arrangements, home life, prevalent streams of mental tendency".

The conclusions that the Commission presented before The General Assembly were concerned more with the structure of the Church, and the future of the ministry. They felt that emphasis should be placed on evangelists and mission preachers, and more recognition should be given to the place of women in the Church and their role. In relationship to the young they feel th e church should present "bright worship services".

"The supreme desire was that the people of Scotland should have cause to love and revere their National Church, not merely for the sake of her past, but much more for the efforts put forth to realise the obligations of the present day, and to identify herself with all that concerns their social and religious well being".

(General Assembly Reports, 1896, Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People, P859)

Report of Commission On The Housing of the Poor
In Relation to their Social Condition 1891

On the fifth of December 1888, the Presbytery of Glasgow resolved

"That a Commission be appointed to inquire into the Housing of the Poor in the city, in relation to their Social condition; to gather and classify facts, and to suggest remedies; with power to take evidence and to report".

The Commission set about its task with diligence and interviewed Factors, an Inspector of Housing, and the Medical Officer of Health of H M Prison, as well as taking evidence in public.

The remit from the Presbytery included:

"To select representative blocks of dwellings in Glasgow to be specially visited and reported upon so as to bring out information as to

- (1) the wages of the occupiers of single rooms
- (2) the rents
- (3) the ground annuals or fees payable and the taxes
- (4) the habits of the people
- (5) the returns to the proprietors

(Report of Commission to Glasgow Presbytery, 1891

The evidence obtained by the Commission highlighted the squalor and poverty that prevailed in large sections of Glasgow. It also examined the overcrowding in the prisons and suggested the provision of mortuaries for the disposal of corpses.

The following extracts from the Commission are examples of the evidence gathered, and the attitude adopted by the Commission when it submitted its completed Report to the Presbytery.

Housing

The tenement houses were badly lit, without sanitation and overcrowded. A Memo from The Health Committee stated -

"The provision made for the disposal of excrement of the inhabitants of these tenements demands immediate attention. Several places are noted where there is no provision whatever, but in our opinion the privy is in no case sufficient provision for flatted tenements. It is never used by females and seldom by children. The result is that every sink is practically a water closet, and the stairs and courts and roofs of outhouses are littered with deposits of filth cast from the windows".

(Report of Commission to Glasgow Presbytery, 1891

P 12)

The majority of the tenements were rented out by room,

and legislation under the Police Act determined the amount of space allocated to each person. An ordinary room of 12 ft by 10 ft x 9 ft giving 1,080 cubic feet would be suitable for three and a half occupants. Each room or house had a 'ticket' outside it giving the amount of space, and the number of inhabitants.

"Any house which does not exceed three rooms and does not exceed as to the conjoint capacity of the whole house 2,000 cubic feet, may be measured and the total cubic contents inscribed upon a ticket on the door or lintel, with the number of inmates who may legally occupy that house, at the rate of 300 cubic feet per adult or child over eight years. That is a ticketed house".

(Definition given by Dr Russell to the Commission)

The tenement owners had night inspectors who examined the properties and attempted to stop overcrowding but they often found ten people living in a room 10 ft by 10 ft by 9 ft.

The Commission explored the possibility of building houses for workmen at an economic rent but this failed for they were unable to find anyone who would risk the capital outlay on an uncertain return of rent. The increased taxes, and the enhanced value of land made it a bad investment.

Evidence was received from two house factors, a Mr Stobo and a Mr Spiers, along with a Mr Wallace, Inspector of Govan.

"Question The people who occupy these properties and those mentioned are a very depraved and improvident class?

Answer Very much so

Question The bulk of them are dirty in their habits, and so not as a rule take advantage of any sanitary improvements made in their houses?

Answer No; I can speak most decidedly on that point

Question You think the houses such as they are, are quite good enough for them?

Answer I am disposed to think they are rather better than they deserve

Question You think the character of the people is at the root of the evil which this Commission has been appointed to inquire into?

Answer I do think so

(Report of Commission to Glasgow Presbytery, 1891

P 13)

Housing and morality were closely linked in the eyes of the Commission. The over-crowding and squalor were the result of laziness and poverty. It was considered pointless spending money on improvements if at the end of the day the people were going to rest in their sins. Reformation of the social habits and morality was seen as essential and - "This can only be effected by bringing to bear on them outside influences of a moral, social and spiritual kind. The Commission with even more marked emphasis, re-affirms that this work is specially the work of the Christian Church. It is her high mission to re-generate the world and fashion the social life after a high pattern. In using the phrase 'Christian Church', they do not restrict or narrow its meaning to any or all of its branches, as they are organised amongst us. They refer to the Church as the living body of Christ, including all lives which are touched and kindled by the life of its Founder".

(Report of the Commission to Glasgow Presbytery

1891 P 25)

Criminals and Vagrants

Related to the problem of bad housing and social conditions were the kindred problems of criminal behaviour and vagrancy.

There was no attempt to understand the conditions which created the criminal and the vagrant, only condemnation of the life.

The suggestion of the Commission was that the link which bound the "deplorable past to a threatening future" must be broken, and the best method of doing this was to transport the criminal fraternity to labour colonies in the country where education, decency and virtue would be taught.

This would result in the extinction of the criminal race and create a race of good, clean, honest people.

"After a generation or two, a race stronger and better, untainted by contact with crime, would grow up, and the state labour colonies emptied of the dwellers, would remain a memorial of a dark past, happily buried and forgotten. The present generation must die out in the desert, and a new generation full of hope, press on to take possession of the promised land of plenty - plenty won by thrift, and content, the fruit of righteousness.

(Report of the Commission to Glasgow Presbytery

1891 pp. 32-3)

A similar fate awaited the vagrants. Living by plunder and extortion the race of vagrants begot more children who became tramps. The Commission stated that 12,892 children were not receiving education - "the only lesson they learn is how to whine most pitifully for alms".

The suggestion was made that since such a race were unfit for city dwelling, they should be transported into state labour colonies and learn basket making,

fishing and other simple industries.

"It is intolerable that in a civilised community, so vast a number of dissolute, lazy idlers should be permitted to overflow the country and live on the fruits of plunder".

(Report on the Commission to Glasgow Presbytery

1891 P 32)

The provision of mortuaries was considered by the Commission and it recommended that there would be great benefits if the Corporation built them for the city. In the over-crowded conditions it was not unusual for the family to sleep and eat in a single room in the presence of the "cold corpse of one dear and valued".

Reports of The Social Work Committee of The Church
of Scotland 1904 - 1914

The Social Work Committee was appointed to prepare a draft scheme of work that the Church should be undertaking. There was a realisation that The Temperance Committee, Christian Life and Work Committee, and The Home Mission Committee were overlapping, and the resources of the Church must be geared into a positive network of action which would make an impact on the masses.

By the next year the Committee had actively moved into the 'Hostel' movement, acquiring Humble Labour Home for Boys, which had been maintained by Lord Polwarth for forty years.

In Edinburgh and Glasgow it purchased houses suitable for Labour Homes, where men manufactured firewood and engaged in window-cleaning and Bill delivering. It was called 'social rescue' work, and examples of success are included in the reports.

"J P age 42. A pointer to trade. Chiefly worked on ships. Found lying on a stair in Leith. Been 10 months idle. After residence in Home, got situation with ships builders in Leith. Now attends Church regularly."

(General Assembly Reports, 1905, Social Work
Committee P 1198)

In Glasgow meals were provided for the homeless at night - and on the 21 December, 1904 a morning meal was also provided to 457 men and 3 women.

Thirty six of the recipients were asked their trades and the result was recorded.

Labourers	22
Firemen	
(Marine)	2
Newsboys	2
Miner	1
Steel Worker	1
Ship-pointer	1
Boat-top cutter	1
Hammerman	1
Plasterer	1
Baker	1
Groom	1
Cooper	1
Mason	1

29 were Scottish, 7 Irish and of the Scottish 22 were born in Glasgow.

The cost of each meal was 3/4d, and it consisted of 8 oz of bread, and an imperial pint of pea soup!

Suggestions for new projects sponsored by the Social Work Committee included a Discharged Prisoners' Home, Womens' Rescue Work amongst homeless women and prostitutes, and an Inebriates' Home.

A woman's Labour Bureau was opened in Bank Street, Edinburgh, and provided a labour source for families requiring servants. Out of the 900 who applied, only about half were held to be suitable "Some not necessitous, others not deserving, while there were many past work of any kind".

The social work of the Church continued and by 1907 the Chief Constable of Glasgow was suggesting to the Committee that he would welcome 'statutory powers under which committal might be made to such homes in the same manner as to industrial schools and reformatories'.

There was a growing awareness of the immense social problems that had only been touched upon by the previous efforts of the Church. The problems of sweated labour, unemployment, housing, and model lodging houses, and farmed-out housing are noted, so that the Church can play a part in arousing public opinion upon all these questions.

The Whitevale Home in Glasgow became a centre for men in distress through unemployment and poverty -

"1908 has been a year of unparalleled distress through unemployment, and notwithstanding the efforts made to cope with it, and the assistance given by the Distress Committee, The Lord Provost's Fund, and the various Church funds, we have had a constant stream of men at our door. Many were also sent to us by country

ministers, and many came to us direct from prison. To all of these homeless, workless men we gave shelter and work as far as our accommodation permitted.

We do not take professional tramps, loafers, or wastrels. The State must deal with those in detention colonies on the lines laid down by the Poor Law Commission Report".

(General Assembly Reports, 1909. Social Work Committee
P 1119)

By 1910 The Social Work Committee was established in the General Assembly, and in the life of the Church. The various enterprises had expanded and the reports were concerned to show that the Church was caring by providing food and shelter for the poor, and opportunity for those who had fallen into trouble.

In Malta House, Edinburgh there was a

"very marked reduction in the number of applicants for free food at the door. This is the result of the Superintendent having introduced the rule of no work, no food. No man has got food unless he chopped a certain quantity of wood. It is wonderful how quickly the word is passed around among men of the 'won't work' type."

(General Assembly Reports, 1910 Social Work
Committee P 977)

From Whitevale House, Glasgow came the statement that rag sorting had replaced firewood cutting. The house had its successes - a young man on probation from the Police Court did well and after six weeks got a job. A young doctor who had taken to drink, and 'become a wreck' got an appointment as a Ship's doctor, and borrowed ten pounds for clothing and surgical instruments.

By 1911 the Committee had created a net work of agencies to help the working men and women who had fallen on unfortunate circumstances, but the numbers that they were able to cope with were very small compared with the immensity of the problem. There was an awareness that the existing social and industrial conditions left a lot to be desired, but on inability to provide the answers. This was expressed in a deliverance to the General Assembly, which is quite vague :

"The General Assembly deplore the terrible evils resulting from a low standard of Christian morality, and from existing social and industrial conditions, and exhort all ministers and members of the Church to do all in their power to remedy these evils"

(General Assembly Reports, 1911, Social Work
Committee p 829)

By 1913 the Committee had 26 Institutions under its charge, and by the time of the General Assembly it was preparing to open another at Haddington for Orphan boys. This was by arrangement with The Christian Life and Work Committee

of the Assembly.

By the time it presented its tenth report (1914) the institutions and work of the Committee had grown. It included a Womens' Rescue Home at Uddingston, a Girls' Preventive Home at Haddington, five Boys' Homes, a Market Garden Colony at Cornton, several lodging houses, and it was involved in Police Court Work.

The Malta House report for 1914 states that "there is a notable difference in the class of applicants". Hitherto a fair proportion of the young and strong had applied, but now it was the older and broken down members of society who appeared.

"One had worked at the same machine for thirty-five years. His wife died. He said he buried his heart with his wife, and gave way to drink, lost his situation, sold up his home, slept in out-houses and other shelters till he landed in our house a wreck. By and by he was taken back again to his work at his old machine"

(General Assembly Reports, 1914, Social Work
Committee pp 736 - 7)

The Committee had established itself in the life of the Church by 1914, and created a supportive agency for many individuals in need and distress. Whether it managed to change attitudes to employment, social conditions, and poverty remains to be seen.

(e) THEOLOGICAL RESPONSE

In 1870 - 1914 there existed as far as theology was concerned three 'Scotlands' - the past, present and future. The Scotland of the past was a Calvinistic one, deeply rooted in the psyche of orthodox theology, holding the Westminster Confession of Faith, and using the Longer and Shorter Catechisms. It sought after the ideal and theocratic society of Calvin and Knox, but was unable to cope with the rapid change from a rural community to an industrial one. It was a theology which could be practised in the small community, where the Ministers could visit and catechise, or where they could gather their flock in a manse or hall and examine them. Keeping to the 'faith of the fathers' was essential, and any attempt to move from the immovable Calvinistic creeds was not only frowned upon, but would be treated with a heresy hunt.

Erskine of Linlathen, McLeod Campbell of Rhu, and Robertson Smith had wandered along this road, and had been severely punished.

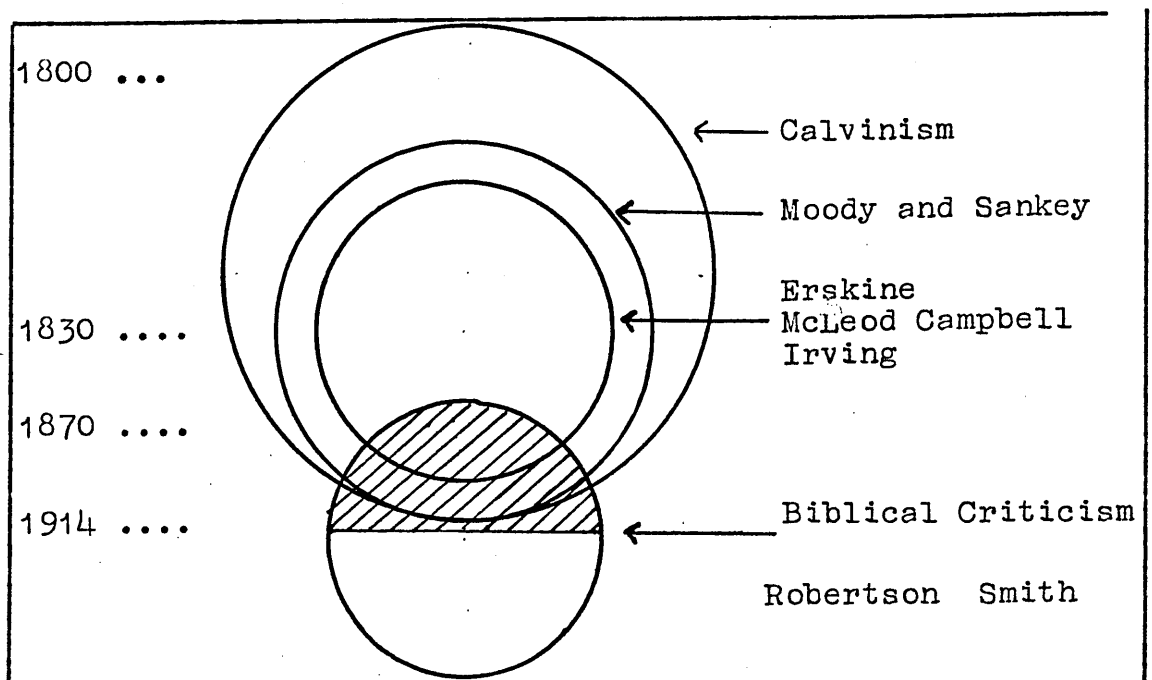
The Scotland of the present had been deeply influenced by the orthodox Calvinism, and was reluctant to break away from it. Instead it

embraced the evangelism of Moody and Sankey, for it was safer than the Biblical Criticism of the new age.

Charteris and others actively supported the evangelists, and were pleased to identify with their work. The Christian Life and Work Committee were influenced by them, and included questions in the 'Queries' about evangelistic meetings.

The Scotland of the future was one which accepted the continental approach to Biblical Criticism and became liberal in its theological outlook, paying lip service to the strict Calvinistic orthodoxy of the Confessions.

It is important to note that there was not a unified progression from one theology to another. All three, existed together and still remain so to-day, often within the one congregation.



Alec Vidler in 'The Church in an age of Revolution',
writes -

"It was inevitable that sooner or later the churches in Scotland would have to face the question that confronted all churches in the nineteenth century concerning the relation between traditional standards of orthodoxy and the critical study of the Bible. But there were circumstances in Scotland that deferred the impact of new learning and humanitarian sentiment longer even than in England",

('The Church in an Age of Revolution' -
Vidler P 169)

During the period under discussion (1870 - 1914) it is possible to detect the theological influences suggested in the diagram, but there is a dearth of theological writing and thinking which attempted to link the Christian faith with the industrialisation process that had overtaken the country. There was no figure in Scotland like F D Maurice, nor a comparable Christian Socialist movement, which sought to relate theology to social conditions. In 1876 Matthew Arnold delivered a lecture to the London clergy at Lion College which suggested that the Kingdom of God meant the Kingdom of God on earth, and not just a future heaven.

By the late 1870's the whole question of church involvement in the social order, both politically and economically was being discussed in England. The

'Christian Socialist' banner united many clergymen of different traditions and denominations.

"They were all agreed that the conditions of society were morally intolerable and therefore that every religious man ought to wish to change them towards the direction recommended by the Labour leaders of the working men. They were not agreed that the right method of furthering their moral end was to vote Labour (after Labour candidates began to contest elections), for such a vote could only weaken the Liberal party which some of them still saw as the only hope of winning power for their social policy"

('The Victorian Church' Owen Chadwick Part II
P 273)

In the 1880's the Socialist Movement in Scotland progressed steadily in membership and influence, but without the active participation of the Church

"Michael Davitt toured industrial Scotland preaching the nationalisation of the land with his burning eloquence unknown since Chartist times. Henry George came to Glasgow and after listening to him 2,000 joined the Land Restoration League. Stuart Glennie and the Reverend Mr McCallum of Watemish stimulated land seizure movements in the North West, and 'No Rent' manifestos flooded the highlands. In 1888 Keir Hardie was preaching Christian Socialism whilst editor of 'The Miner,' and encouraged the formation of the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party."

("History of The Working Class in Scotland"

Johnston)

It is possible that the Church saw the spread of socialist principles as a threat to its understanding of the Gospel, and sought to safeguard Victorian middle class virtues of acceptance of one's position in society -

"O rich man's Guest, be with us in our gladness
O poor man's mate, our lowliest tasks attend"

(Frank Fletcher 1870 - 1954 - Church Hymnary 3
Hymn 309)

Even the Catholic Church of the time turned from identifying the Gospel with socialist progress, and attempted to look after the poor through Church agencies.

"In 1891 a speaker put the matter clearly to the Catholic Literary Association of Glasgow; As Catholics I maintain we can have nothing to do with the aims and aspirations of the Socialists. To assist them to gain a voice in the government of the city and country is to enable them to deal more effectively, a destructive blow at some of our more cherished institutions.... to associate with them is to endanger our faith.

('History of The Working Class in Scotland'
Johnston).

The theological motivation of the Christian Life and Work Committee originated from a mixture of different

and perhaps conflicting influences on the life of A H Charteris. It sprang from his parish experiences, from his acceptance of the methods of Moody and Sankey the evangelists, and the need to relate the Gospel to the working class. It arose also out of a concern for those who were 'Converted' through evangelism, and who were unable to discover a spiritual home within the Church of Scotland.

"Such converts longed for recognition by the Church. It needed them and when they came in, it was enriched by their zeal. Evangelists had been looked upon as poachers, and not as allies of the ordinary ministry; but the Assembly told us, at our own request, to report on the best means of furthering evangelistic efforts. The committee's central aim was to promote Christian activity on the part of all members of the Church. One thing led to another".

('Life of Charteris' - Rev Hon Arthur Gordon,
P 304)

The 'one thing led to another' approach was a pragmatic response to a situation that required theological insights into the industrialisation process. The Church had been overtaken by events, so that its thinking patterns were still those of the 1750's, whilst its organisational structure was essentially a rural one. The problems of Biblical criticism

stirred up a few academics, but the mass of the population, despite the claims of the Church, were outwith its ordinances.

The evangelical concern of Professor Charteris was the one bright light amidst the darkness of the slum conditions where he ministered from the Tolbooth Church.

The motto, above the Deaconess Hospital,

'Christo in Pauperibus' (To Christ in His Poor)

which he had seen above a Swiss Hospital door, was at the heart of the actions taken by the Christian Life and Work Committee. It was a concern for humanity which moved Charteris to work for the alleviation of poverty; and his understanding of the Gospel which made him turn from the traditional confession of faith held by the Church to his evangelical interpretation of the Kingdom of God.

"However much we admire the grand chain of noble truths wound around the Ark of the Covenant of Faith in our ancestral creed, we must feel that it never brings within our ken the schooling and strengthening of faith by service of the Redeemer. Yet who does not know- who that ever tried it - that to minister to Christ in the poor and needy, to comfort some mourner, to feed some hungry child, to rescue and lift some one

that has stumbled and fallen, is the surest path to blessing for oneself, provided it is not done for the sake of that blessing?

Was not that what Jesus meant when he said that whosoever giveth a cup of cold water shall receive a disciple's reward? What can a disciple's reward be but the reward of better discipleship? And yet loving eyes will search in vain through the Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism if they seek any such reminder and counsel. And thus it is that our creeds sought to act on the Reason and the Soul without directing the whole Humanity to arise and work the work of Christ among our brethern and His".

(Baird Lecture, 'The Church of Christ',

A H Charteris 1905 P 121)

The renewal of the Church of Scotland originated in the insights and simple faith of a Professor of Biblical Criticism who did not actively embrace any 'new' theology, or attempt to discover how theology related to the rapid social changes going on around him, but who was concerned for the poor before him. In hindsight we can criticise Charteris for not asking the right questions about the social order which created the conditions of poverty, bad housing, violence and immorality, but he alone stands out as the person who was willing to act on behalf of the poor and change the structures of the Church hopefully to accommodate and welcome them.

4. PART THREE

a) Alienation - Towards a Definition

- i. The Numbers Game
- ii. Social Conditions
- iii. Housing
- iv. Morality and Immorality
- v. The Wealth of Nations and The Poverty of
The People

b) Reaction

- i. The Protestant Ethic
- ii. Structures and Mission
- iii. The Progress of the Christian Life and
Work Committee 1875 - 1914

c) Assessment

- i. General
- ii. Attitudes
- iii. The Church a Community of Privilege
- iv. The Church a Community for the World.

a) ALIENATION - TOWARDS A DEFINITION

"Closely connected with poverty, the Church has got this problem to face - Why should poverty be a cause of alienation? Is not the Gospel intended to be preached to the poor?

Is there anything in the present state of our Church organisation or life which is repellant to the poor, or an obstacle to prevent them having the ordinances and blessings of religion? "

(General Assembly Reports, 1888, Christian Life and Work Committee) P. 458

'Alienation' in the Oxford Dictionary definition is estrangement; transference of ownership; diversion to different purpose: but in modern theological thought it has been associated with existentialism and the teaching of Paul Tillich and others. In this context it has come to mean estrangement from the ground of our being, and includes the disharmony of the personality when it is distanced from God. It has come to be a word which describes feelings and emotions and is now part of the vocabulary which includes terms like 'the despair of meaninglessness', the 'anxiety of emptiness', 'the separation of all men from the Ground of Being'. So alienation is a personal word, used in the search for identity of the individual in his relationship to God, and to others. In another more evangelical context it is sin that alienates us from God, and it is through forgiveness given to us in and through Jesus Christ that we are restored and saved.

The word alienation as it is used in the Reports of The Christian Life and Work Committee of the General Assembly has a different meaning. Although it is still 'estrangement' there is no personal or emotional understanding of the term. It is instead the estrangement of the working masses from the institution of the Church, and also the departure of men of thought and culture from the ordinances of the Established Church. There is little thought at the early stages of the committee's work,

that the Church may have alienated itself from the people by its attitude, doctrine, or indeed by its total inability to relate to the situation of an industrial society.

As ministers and presbyteries returned their answers to the many 'queries' that the Committee placed before them, a gradual picture emerged of a society which had grown up without any relationship to the church or churches in Scotland. Many of the people, both in rural and industrial areas, never participated in the life of the Church, and the Church had no community activities by which to attract, apart from one or two exceptions like St Bernard's Church in Edinburgh.

So whilst 'alienation' is normally associated with the masses, and their estrangement from the pew, it can also mean the indifference of the Church as an institution to the needs of the people. This form of 'alienation' can be seen as the irrelevance of the Church and its message to the condition of the people.

It manifested itself in the pre-suppositions behind the 'Queries'. Instead of being open to the changing pattern of society, they asserted the traditional values of the old society of pre-industrial Scotland. The industrial workers of the central belt in Scotland - the coal miner, the railwayman, the mill worker - living in squalid conditions - were unable to discover anything of relevance

in the life of the Church which would help to alleviate or remove their poverty.

The 'Queries' also restricted the attitude of the members and adherents. Instead of engaging in the struggle for a more just society, they focused their attentions on many of the excesses of an unjust society, and sought to cure the symptom and not the disease.

The realisation of the problem and its immensity gradually dawned upon all the denominations in Scotland, but instead of drawing them to-gether in a search to understand the root causes of 'alienation' it drew them apart, The Free Church and The Auld Kirk both claimed to represent the people of Scotland, and during the period under review, they entered into a bitter statistical battle to prove their claims which detracted from the central problem of the relevance of the Church to the age.

(i) The Numbers Game

The Reverend Robert Howie was a Free Church Minister whose work had always been amongst the people of Glasgow, and who was concerned to evangelise the masses. In an attempt to re-awaken enthusiasm for this work he undertook a statistical survey which was entitled 'The Churches and The Churchless in Scotland'. The 'Churchless' he defines as

"the attitude of a large and, as the tables will prove, an ever increasing section of the community, towards the various branches of the Christian Church. It is not meant to describe their attitude towards Christ. It is not synonymous with Christless. In this investigation the author fully recognises the distinction that must ever be made between coming to Christ and attending the ordinances of the Christian Church, or even becoming Church members. While believing that it is the duty as well as the privilege of all genuine Christians to honour Christ by taking part in the public services of the sanctuary, and becoming members of the Christian Church as a visible organisation, he is not to be held as affirming either that all church members are members of Christ, or that all members of Christ necessarily find themselves in the

communion of one or other of the denominations referred to in this volume. "

('The Churches and The Churchless in Scotland' -
Howie P ix)

The method of calculation of any statistical table is vital, and Howie has used sources available to him which include Parliamentary returns, Church and University Almanacs and denominational records, which include the reports of the Christian Life and Work Committee of the Established Church. The usual method of estimating the numbers in church connection was to use a multiplier of 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$, and this gave an inflated figure with a distorted return. The Christian Life and Work Committee used the latter figure of $3\frac{1}{2}$, and in doing so was able to claim more members in Scotland of the Auld Kirk.

"The latter multiplier, adopted by the Committee of the Church of Scotland on Life and Work, would be necessary to give a majority of the people of Scotland to their denomination. But that is clearly out of the question. While in 26 prebyteries there would be, even if such a multiplier is used, 319,211 persons having no church connection, there would be in 57 other presbyteries 648,803 persons in church connection in excess of the whole population of these presbyteries and this, in face of the fact that there are denominations fairly entitled to a larger multiplier in virtue of their stricter conditions of membership" ('The Churches and The Churchless in Scotland', Howie P xii)

The statistical battle was taken up by Dr Rankin of the Established Church who accused the non-conformist denominations of giving secret notice beforehand to their congregations before a count of members was to be taken, so that they would know to attend on the Sunday of the count. He also suggested the the figures were compiled by 'manufacturers and cooks of statistics'.

Howie used various other surveys which were taken during the period, - the Mail Census of 1876, the Census of attendance in 1878 and 1881, and the Census of Attendance in 1891 - and concluded that all the churches in Scotland were losing people, although the membership looked as if it was increasing. In 1876, 422 people out of every 1,000 connected with the denominations attended worship, whilst by 1891, the figure was 262 per 1,000. The number of churchless in the population rose dramatically from an estimated 56,889 in 1851, to 1,517,871 in 1891 - or 19.9 per thousand in 1851 to 377.2 per thousand in 1891.

However the figures are regarded it showed a drastic decline in interest in the churches in Scotland, and Howie suggested the need to plant more churches, and encourage a more aggressive and evangelistic ministry.

Church 'planting' was a term used for new congregations being established, hopefully in the areas of dense population. But Howie suggested that -

"Of 72 new churches planted by the Established Church during the twelve years 1879 - 91, 57 were in the increasing Presbyteries and 15 in the decreasing".

('The Churches and The Churchless in Scotland,
Howie P xxx)

The work of the Ministry was regarded as filling the pews, and bringing people into Christ's house, so that the message of the Gospel could be aimed at the people, like a gun shooting game; and the minister should be a man of sound common sense, not too intellectual but endowed with gumption.

"If the churchless are to be attracted to the sanctuary, congregations must have ministers of the right stamp to fill their pulpits. Men of buckram and pomposity, who cannot bend themselves, mere clerics, ever asserting their rights and prerogatives, and instead of magnifying their office by self deeds of self sacrifice and Christ-like devotion, always seeking to magnify themselves, will not win their fellow men to the sanctuary or to the Saviour".

('The Churches and The Churchless in Scotland,
Howie P xli)

Howie's solution to the problem of the churchless was to evangelise and then they would return to the pew to hear the message of Christ, proclaimed by faithful and loyal ministers. There was no awareness of the great gulf

which had been created between the Churches and the people through the social conditions of the time. Alienation was interpreted as an estrangement of the masses, and whilst the churches should improve their ministry, by making it less intellectual, the aim was to put the people back into the pew.

For a limited insight into the needs of the people, and their social conditions it is necessary to examine the 'queries' that were being asked, in relation to non-church going - by the Christian Life and Work Committee of The Church of Scotland.

(ii) Social Conditions

The first indication that the Committee was concerned with social conditions arose in 1877 when the 'Query' asked on the Schedule concerned the growth of intemperance. In town and country it was widespread, and there was always the inference that if the people drank less, or preferably not at all, then the living conditions would be far better. A minister from Glasgow reported - 'intemperance in Glasgow is the curse of curses', whilst one in the rural area wrote

"The vice prevails here to a most alarming extent. It is bringing poverty and wretchedness to many a home, and I have no doubt seriously affecting the attendance at our churches and causing many to live in the total neglect of all religious ordinances".

(General Assembly Reports, 1877, Christian Life and Work Committee) P 584

It was also suggested in this year that the causes for the spread of intemperance were the increased wages, the increase in licensed premises, the lack of education, lack of home discipline, and the lack of rational amusements to fill up the spare time of working people. Linked to intemperance were crime and impurity, although the latter was not defined. The solution to the

problems was for the Church to preach and obey the Gospel of self denial and holiness.

There was no attempt to understand the reasons why the people indulged in, and enjoyed drinking. Nor was there seen to be any relationship between the poor living conditions and the escapism created by intemperance.

In 1832 J A Allison, one of the institutional writers in Scots criminal law wrote his 'Principles and Practice of the Criminal Law of Scotland'. In his consideration of the principles of responsibility in cases where drink had been taken he wrote the following:-

"Such is the tendency to this brutalising vice, among the lower orders in this country, that if it were sustained as a defence, three-fourths of the whole crimes in the country would go unpunished; for the slightest experience must be sufficient to convince everyone, that almost every crime that is committed is directly or indirectly connected with whisky" (P661).

Admittedly Allison was writing some fifty years outside the period here under consideration but how relevant his words are can be seen from a comment made by Gerald Gordon writing his 'Criminal Law' as late as 1967. He wrote:

"Allowing for modern social class attitudes, and for the price of whisky, this statement is still true so far as crimes of violence are concerned and it is a matter to which the law must have regard in dealing with the defence of

drunkenness"

(P365)

Intemperance was not the only condition which alienated people from the Church. By 1885 the first sociological questions were being asked, and for the first time the Committee was concerned about the number of people who were without any connection to the Church.

Many reasons were suggested for non-attendance at Church - from seat rents, football, and the reading of unhealthy literature - but it was not until 1888, nineteen years after the formation of the Committee, that the problem started to be understood. Until this date the church had assumed a judgemental view about 'alienation', and regarded it as the fault and responsibility of the poor. There was no reason why after working hard, for long hours with small wages, that the people should refuse to attend worship. After all what was the Sabbath for but to listen to dull doctrine and long, long prayers? However, by 1888 a new tone appeared in the Committee conclusions, which suggested that if the masses were not attending the Church, then there might be something wrong with the Church.

"Why should poverty be a cause of alienation? Is not the Gospel intended to be preached to the poor?"

(C.L.W.C. 1888)

(General Assembly Reports, 1888, Christian Life and Work Committee) P. 458

Along with this declaration - and it had the stamp of

Charteris, was a suggestion that the present structure of the Church was unable to cope with, or was unsuitable for the age.

It was from this 'Charteris Declaration' that a fresh spirit of understanding breathed through the work of the Committee and from it, new Commissions and Committees emerged to wrestle with the problems.

The Committee on Non Church Going, constituted in 1889 by the General Assembly, was the fore-runner of the Commission into The Religious Condition of the People of Scotland 1891. The Committee and the Commission adopted the same attitude and method of approach. The former was judgemental, whilst the latter consisted of a long list of possible answers to the problems of why people declined to attend Church. It was like a multiple choice selection, and the Presbyteries were invited to place them in the correct order, or at least give a 'score'. Intemperance won with 42 Presbyteries voting for it, whilst Ignorance only received 5 votes. Indifference to Religion scored 39 Presbyteries, whilst Scepticism only received 8 votes from the Presbyteries.

If the 'Charteris Declaration' started to ask the correct questions, it was obvious that the Assembly Committee and Commission were unable to supply the right answers.

Social conditions were intolerable in places, it was admitted, but the blame lay fairly and squarely on the

shoulders of the people. Hard work, thrift and the ordinances of the Church were God's gift, and anyone who abused these gifts was in the wrong. However if hard work and thrift made you work on a Sunday and unable to attend Church, then that was a terrible sin. The Sabbath day must be preserved, and breaking it by working was avaricious, and by leisure activities, just down-right sinful.

The social conditions of the masses were seen as the result of their waywardness in relationship to the Church and its ordinances. If the people did not sit in the pew, then they were unable to listen to the words of the preacher from the pulpit. This neglect led them into immoral habits, neglect of the family and intemperance.

(iii) Housing

Throughout the Reports, comments are made on the housing conditions of the people. Once again the Church was ambivalent, uncertain whether the bad housing had created ungodliness, or whether the ungodliness the bad housing. If the people had saved their money instead of drinking it, then they would have been able to afford good housing. There was a growing awareness that the problems of bad housing could not be readily solved, and it is possible to sense from the reports that the members of the Committees and the Commission on the Religious Condition of The People had only recently encountered the problem.

"The mud, the filthy soil before the houses, the foul sanitary conditions, the untidiness of many of the houses, the sight of the children playing in the midst of dirt and pollutions, the number of men out of work in houses and about doors - these and other features left a painful impression".

(C.R.C.P of S P988 1891)

(General Assembly Reports, 1891, Commission on the Religious Conditions of the People P988)

The 'painful impression' did not in any way condemn either the Local Authority or the Landlords who had an obligation to improve the conditions. The Glasgow Commission attempted to fund a scheme of better housing, but proved unsuccessful

as nobody was prepared to risk capital on a venture where the rents for the workers depended on the certainty of the labour market. Later in the Glasgow report the question was asked of the house factors if it were the evilness of the people that caused the conditions - and the predictable answer was 'Yes'. This 'evilness' could only be removed by repentance and faith, and in the case of the criminal class by transportation to the colonies.

(iv) Morality and Immorality

Throughout the reports, immoral behaviour was touched upon, and condemned outright. The Westminster Confession of Faith had stated the position of the Church, and there was no need to revise it or suggest any other way. Marriage was good, but not a marriage with a Roman Catholic partner, and divorce was to be only tolerated as a last resort, with the life-time stigma that resulted from it.

Adultery, fornication, lust of any sort, and 'night hawking' - sleeping with women from another farm, was condemned. There was no attempt to understand the relationship between intemperance, housing conditions and moral attitudes, only a dogmatic interpretation of the faith, which is authoritarian and unyielding, except in relationship to individuals who appeared, like Helen Gourlay, before the Kirk Session. Once again there is a public stance which the Church felt it must take, opposed to the private view which was more open and compassionate towards those that needed help and assistance.

Kenneth Boyd's conclusions in his recent work 'Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and Family 1850 - 1914' emphasise the position of the Church -

"The 19th century Scottish Churches said a great deal about topics related to sex, marriage and the family, but little theological thinking seems to have lain behind it. Most of the theological points the churches made were already summed up by the Westminster Confession Chapter on marriage and divorce, and in the Westminster Catechism's answers to their questions on the fifth and seventh commandments. Two centuries after the General Assembly had adopted these statements, its successors saw little need to change them".

('Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and Family 1850 - 1914' Kenneth M Boyd P293)

Faced with social conditions, intemperance, bad housing, and immorality, the reaction of the Church was crucial for the welfare of the people and its own understanding of the Gospel for the age.

(v) The Wealth of Nations - and The Poverty of
The People

In 1776 Adam Smith published his work 'The Wealth of Nations'. He foresaw some of the problems which industrialisation would create especially in relation to the change from an agrarian life-style to an industrial one. He never visualized the poverty and deprivation that would be the result of economic forces. His work was a manifesto for 'minimally - regulated market economics', and he was convinced that growth in the economic sector was best achieved by the individual pursuit of maximum economic reward, 'which could be transmuted by an Invisible hand into the General Good'. David Hume, the philosopher, pursued the same theme, and wanted Scotland to progress in the same manner as England. Adam Ferguson, of Edinburgh University, was the only person to see the dangers of a rapid economic progress, and he wrote about this in his 'Essay on the History of Civil Society'. But his words of warning were ignored, and the gospel of market economics, and the aims and goals of the working class to seek promotion through their own labours was proclaimed by entrepreneur and minister alike.

Thomas Chalmers was a great believer in economic forces, market values, and the class structure

which had arisen. But he was deeply concerned about poverty, and in his Church, St John's, he attempted to alleviate the conditions of the deserving poor by providing works of mercy and charity. He enforced the principles of Adam Smith, but was unable to extend his charitable works as the communities of mass labour overwhelmed the practical application of Christian charity.

This identification of the Church with an economic theory which meant the suppression of the labour force continued until the latter part of the century. This attitude plus the rise of the Trade Union Movement which expressed the aspirations of the people, sealed the alienation of the church from the masses. Unfortunately there was not the foundation of a Christian Socialist Movement in Scotland like that in England, but a separation of political idealism which was Marx-orientated and the Christian faith which came to represent the upper and middle class ideals of society. It was this ideological gulf that determined the future of the labour movement in Scotland, and the inability of the church to evangelise the towns in any way which would have suggested that the Gospel cared for the people. The new kingdom would be a Marx-dominated one, and the Kingdom of God as preached by the Ministers would be a mythology which never became a reality. The alienation of the Church from the people was complete, except that the Church still imagined that the people were alienated from the Church.

Realisation of the immensity of the problem came too late and the words of John Marshall Lang of the Barony Church, Glasgow, delivered to the Synod of Glasgow meeting at Ayr in April 1887 were too late - the people had departed a generation or two ago.

"They are departing. Men in thousands and tens of thousands... The drift is representative of different attitudes of mind - the hostility of some types of socialism, the infidelity championed by Bradlaugh, the stolid indifference of practical if not theoretic agnosticism, the brutalized feeling of the drunkard, the hopelessness of the unfortunate. But at one point all these attitudes meet; people decline to enter within the gates of any ecclesiastical society. In Scotland we are all asking, what is to be done?"

('They Need Not Depart' - Glasgow 1887)

b) REACTION

(i) The Protestant Ethic

The reaction of the Church of Scotland to the social conditions was too late. The events of the industrialisation process had overwhelmed a Church which had its roots and ethos in the rural areas, and the small towns of Scotland. In 1870, when 'Patronage, Presbyterian Union and Home Work' was published, being a record of the debates in the General Assembly of that year, there was a determination to do something about the problems which affected the masses, but an inability to arrive at a solution. It would appear that there was little awareness of the reasons which created the great gulf between society and the Churches.

Scotland since the Reformation was dominated by Calvinistic Theology, and the doctrines of predestination and election. It was a theology which gave a structure to society and which was adequate for the days before the Industrial Revolution. In the Second Book of Discipline (1578) the Reformers recommended the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms which defined the role of the Church and the State. In it the Kirk was regarded as having special powers granted by God, and "the power ecclesiasticall is an authoritie granted be God the Father" but this power was different in nature from the authority given to

the Civil Magistrate, although both were derived from God. "The civill power is callit the Power of the Sword, and the uther the Power of the Keyes".

The implication was that whilst the magistrate exercised civil power, he should do it according to the word of God, taught by the Ministers. Church and State existed to-gether in unity -

"The civill power sould commend the spiritual to exircise and doe their office according to the Word of God : the spiritual rewlaris should requyre the Christian magistrate to minister justice and punish vyce, and to maintain the libertie and quietness of the kirk within their boundis".

('Second Book of Discipline', I,10)

Although the Second Book of Discipline was not accepted by the civil power, it became the guidelines for the Reformed Church in Scotland. The magistrate in his court, and the minister with his kirk session were conscious of their divine authority. Both ruled, judged evil doers and punished. But as the secularisation process grew the power of the minister and session diminished, until by 1870 it had become a matter of church discipline and administration.

Secularisation and industrialisation overtook the Church. Although the Reformers had suspected capitalism,

and Bucer in his "De Regno Christi" had written

"Neither the Church of Christ, nor a Christian Commonwealth, ought to tolerate such as prefer private gain to the public weal, or seek it to the hurt of their neighbour"

- this insight was lost by the time of intense industrialisation in the latter part of the 18th century. Tawney in his 'Religion and the Rise of Capitalism' has suggested that one of the earliest elements in the social teaching of the Church was one of suspicion towards the economic motives of traders and financiers, and it was Calvinism which "endowed the life of economic enterprise with a new sanctification".

As the population grew in the towns of Scotland, so the links with the Church diminished. The working class had little time for a Church which identified itself with either the landed gentry or the entrepreneur, and which stressed "the need for education and Bible study, a severe sexual code, financial solvency and in many cases obstinence from alcohol, the restriction of Sunday activity and regular appearances in Church in respectable clothes"

('Life in Scotland' - Rosalind Mitchison P142)

The Protestant ethic which inspired people to work, and which accepted that everyone had a divine right to employment, said little about the labour force which lived in squalor, and earned a pittance for long hours of toil.

By 1870 when the Auld Kirk was becoming aware of the problems, and asking questions about the condition of the people, the masses had already been alienated for a generation, if not two generations. The Church had been unable to relate to the new conditions. The Parish system had collapsed, the education of the clergy divorced them from the people, and the discipline exercised by the Church meant little or nothing to the people. As Mitchison suggests "Religion wrapped round the cities but did not enter into many parts of them"

('Life in Scotland' P 142)

If there was an awakening in 1870 to the plight of the Church, and the condition of the people, by 1890 it had become an awareness of the plight of the people and the condition of the Church. But this alone was not enough. Instead of an examination of its attitudes towards society, it contented itself with an intense look at its structures. If the structures were correct, then the assumption was that the people would return to the fold. All that was needed was the parochial system to work, or evangelists, or men with 'gumption and less Greek' or more attractive services, and the churches would once again be filled.

There is the continual pre-supposition that if the Gospel were preached faithfully then the people would return.

The causes of alienation were social vices, and if they could be removed then all would be well. This explains

the continual obsession with drink, sex and indiscipline, which were individual 'sins', and the reluctance to examine the theological issues which allowed the situation to develop without criticism or response. It is possible to search in vain for a doctrine of the worth of man, of the dignity of labour, or a theology of society which would show that the Church was concerned about the economic theory and the consequences of its application to the masses. Instead there was only the pragmatic response of the Church to an increasingly desperate situation.

The mobility of the population had swamped the Parish system, and in places it had either collapsed or was ineffective. The rigid dogma of Calvinism was unable to bridge the gulf, for it was a judgemental teaching which suggested that the Church was 'elect' and those outside were damned. As a structure, an institution, the Church was inflexible in its approach to the people, and its conservatism left it marking time, unable to identify with a new age. It was into this situation that the Christian Life and Work Committee attempted to restore the place of the Church and relate the gospel to the needs of the age.

(ii) Structures and Mission

The structures and the mission of the Church are complementary to one another. If the structure exists and operates well, the mission of the church progresses with support and vigour. If however the structures of the church are non-existent or cumbersome, the mission of the church suffers accordingly, and the church can become an organisation which exists solely to satisfy its own members.

In 1869 when The Christian Life and Work Committee was constituted by the General Assembly, the structures of the Church were non-existent - that is the organisation of mission within the Parishes. The courts of The Church functioned, but at the Parish level there was a complete absence of groups concerned with outreach and mission.

A committee which enquired into the life of the Parish Churches in 1871 reported that there were 89 Parishes out of 1,124 without Kirk Sessions, i.e. 13% without the basic administrative unit, whereas the figure in 1865 had been 109 out of 839.

It was this awareness of administrative malfunction that Charteris and his colleagues were determined to correct, so that the mission of the Church would take priority of place.

The questions that were asked during the first five years were seemingly of an administrative nature, and it may be for this reason, and this reason alone, that the Committee reported a lack of response, especially in the Presbyteries of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Committee had tripped up on the inherent right of the clergy to be masters in their own parishes, and they would resist any interference from outside agencies - including an Assembly Committee.

In the years ahead, as it became an acceptable part of the life of the Church, there was a growing realisation that the structures did matter, and mission could be furthered if the organisation existed to succour people in the faith.

The record of the Committee is outstanding for within a short space of time it had initiated several organisations and schemes which enlivened the life of the Church, and which gave it a new understanding of its role in the life of the community.

The two organisations which Charteris and his wife identified with were the Woman's Guild and The Young Mens' Guild, which brought to-gether groups of like-minded women and men with the purpose of fellowship and evangelism. The Woman's Guild has remained the central group within the Church to the present day, but the Mens' Guild has ceased to exist in any effective way.

The development of youth work in the congregation originates from the Christian Life and Work Committee. Sunday Schools existed prior to 1869, but the Committee by its method of asking questions, prompted a growth in Sunday Schools and Bible Classes.

The period from 1875 - 1888 was one of pressure placed upon the General Assembly to create organisations, training programmes and missions which would proclaim the gospel to Scotland. Within this period the motivation of the Auld Kirk had changed and many new structures spearheaded the missionary outreach that Charteris envisaged. A Deaconess Order had been established, a Hospital built, a community nursing service established, a Lay Training Centre created, and a hostel for 'inebriate women'. But from the reading of the Reports it is evident that the Committee considered it had a remit to examine the whole range of activities within the Church. Education for The Ministry was considered, and the need to train people who have 'less Greek and more gumption' was stressed. The need for Christian Literature was accepted, and a publications section was created, and by 1892 it was expressing gratitude to Sir George Reid, The President of The Royal Scottish Academy for his interest in the art illustrations of Life and Work.

In 1908, Charteris died, and by 1912 the Committee had reverted back to asking the same questions that were asked in 1891, and deploring the causes of non-church-attendance

as 'indifference, intemperance, secularism, non-Christian socialism' The causes of non-Church-attendance as viewed by the Committee had not been removed, and the problems still remained the same. What had changed, was that the Church had become more aware of the problems, and its missionary outreach had taken a step forward through the new structures.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK COMMITTEE

1875 - 1914

YEAR	RECOMMENDATION/SUGGESTION
1875	The time has come for the Church to consider lay agency training
1876	need for a Church magazine to be distributed around the Parishes
1877	Suggestions for a Training College and a Society of Deaconesses. 'Lines' recommended.
1878	enjoin ministers to teach in the spirit of Christ the law of purity of the body which is one of the most prominent distinctions between heathen and Christian morals.
1879	Life and Work Magazine Sales reach 72,000. Suggestion for setting up a Lay Training Centre.
1880	Recommendations that Young Mens' Societies should be co-ordinated Digest of Reports to The Assembly published.

YEAR	RECOMMENDATION/SUGGESTION
1881	Recommends more flexibility required in the recruitment of men for the ministry. The course is too long. The Church of England is guided by a more flexible procedure.
1882	83 Associations of Young Men are now affiliated. Membership is now 2,787.
1883	Recommends 'mission weeks', hand bills, hymnal printed. Letter to Parishioners from Minister.
1884	Notes that Ministers answer schedules but fail to ask Kirk Sessions.
1885	Alienation of the poor due to seat rents.
1886	Need for a Training Institute a Deaconess Order required.
1887	The Committee reports it is under strain.

YEAR	RECOMMENDATION/SUGGESTION
1888	Is not the Gospel intended to be preached to the poor?
1889	Deaconesses appointed
1890	Recommends that The Deaconesses have Nurse Training.
1891	Recommends a class of evangelists who are non-academic. 'if not possessing much Greek, have much grace and some gumption'
1892	Recommends Deaconess nurse training and the building of a small hospital.
1893	Report on the purchase of a new home in George Square for Deaconesses.
1894	Charteris resigns from the Committee due to ill health 'who was virtually its originator'.

YEAR	RECOMMENDATION/SUGGESTION
1895	Opening of The Deaconess Hospital in memory of Lady Grisell Baillie, the Church's first Deaconess. 22 Beds, Lady Superintendent 2 Staff Nurses, 4 Probationers
1896	A continuing Report - 12 Sub Committees
1897	Guild Conference 29,233 members 412 Branches 6th Annual Conference
1898	Sub Committee reports.
1899	Report now divided into Sections. 1. The Development of Christian Work 2. The Promotion of Evangelistic Effort 3. Publications 4. Finance
1900	Reports 372 indoor patients admitted to Deaconess with 4,105 home patients.

YEAR	RECOMMENDATION/SUGGESTION
1901	Guild now has 38,240 members. District Nursing report.
1902	Routine Report
1903	Foremost amongst the Schemes is the Training of Christian Workers.
1904	Appointment of an evangelist Miss Howatson. She has a great sympathy with farm servants as a class, and shows much tact in gaining their confidence.
1905	Agencies now divided into (a) Social (b) Educational and Missionary (c) Evangelistic
1906	Institute of Lay Training recommended. Concern about spiritual needs of Tinkers
1907	Approach made to Secretary of State for Scotland with reference to education of tinkers and gypsies.

YEAR	RECOMMENDATION/SUGGESTION
1908	Appreciation of the work of Professor Charteris who died this year.
1909	Concern expressed at non-attendance of Farm Servants at Church.
1910	Reports on the Home for Inebriate Women. 'Eight new cases have been admitted, and these are of a better class than in former years'.
1911	On-going Report
1912	'Among the causes tending to produce the present state of things, attention was directed to indifference, intemperance, secularism, non-Christian socialism'
1913	Non-Church-going concerns the Committee
1914	108 copies of Talks with Farm Servants have been sold.

c) ASSESSMENT

(i) General

Any assessment of the response of the Auld Kirk to the social conditions which prevailed during the period 1870 - 1914, and with especial reference to The Christian Life and Work Committee, must of necessity be aware of the historical development of the Church since the time of the Reformation. The Reformation in Scotland has been seen as a peoples' movement, with the impetus coming from the masses, and seeking a new order to replace the decadent one which was Roman Catholic and therefore hierarchical. But the Reformation was not just a church movement, it had within it the teaching of Erasmus and the New Humanism which was influencing the continent of Europe. It was in Louvain that Patrick Hamilton sat under Erasmus and embraced his teachings, returning to Scotland to teach at St Andrew's University. Suspected of sympathy with Luther, Hamilton left St Andrew's for Wittenberg where he sat under Luther and Melanchthon. On his eventual return to Scotland, he was summoned to appear before Archbishop Beaton, tried and sentenced to death by burning. A wit suggested to Beaton, "The reek of Master Patrick Hamilton infected as many as it blew upon"

The Reformation in Scotland was assisted by a weak government, and Lindsay's 'Satire of the Three

Estates' highlights the decadence of the old Church and the inability of the Lords Temporal to reform society in any way that would benefit the people. Combined with an unpopular French-orientated monarchy the way was prepared for dramatic change.

Knox had studied under Calvin in Geneva in "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles," and he realised the great potential for change in Scotland when he returned home. The manifesto that he presented, 'The Scots Confession of Faith', and the 'Book of Discipline', was a blueprint for a new church as well as a new state. Parliament received and sanctioned the Confession and transmitted it "to all other Realms and Nations professing the same Lord Jesus with them". The Confession, along with the First and Second Books of Discipline outlined a theocratic state, where Church and State would work to-gether, with the Church exercising discipline over both.

Within the manifesto were statements on education, -

"Of necessity therefore we judge it, that every several church have a Schoolmaster appointed, such as one as is able, at least to teach Grammar, and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland (ie rural) where the people convene to doctrine but once in the week, then must either the Reader or The Minister there appointed, take care over the children and youth of the parish....."

('First Book of Discipline' 1560 - 61)

In the same way the new Church would take care of the poor, and provide for their needs.

"Every several kirk must provide for the poor within the self.

.....We are not patrons for stubborn and idle beggars who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging, whom the Civil Magistrate ought to punish; but for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent, or lamed, who neither can nor may travail for their sustentation, we say that God commandeth his people to be careful

How this most conveniently and most easily may be done in every city and other parts of this Realm, God shall show you wisdom. and the means, so that your minds be godly thereto inclined. "

('First Book of Discipline' 1560 - 61)

The ideals of the Reformed Church visualized a church and state which worked to-gether in harmony, each fulfilling a function assigned to it, and both being subjected to The Word of God. In 1647 The Assembly of Divines at Westminster examined and approved The Confession of Faith, and it was ratified by Acts of Parliament in 1649 and 1690.

The Church of Scotland had established itself firmly in the minds and in the society of the people. It had a divine right to educate the children, and to minister to the needs of the poor.

The industrialisation process in Scotland placed a great

stress on the resources of the Church. It could not cope with the need for schools, nor relieve in any substantial way the poor.

Poor relief was based on statutes of the 16th - 17th century, and was entrusted to the heritors and Kirk Sessions.

"Legal assessments for support of the poor might be imposed, but were not obligatory. Settlement in a given parish was a relatively uncontentious matter involving three years continuous residence"

('An Economic History of Modern Scotland 1660 - 1976'
Bruce Lenman P162)

By the turn of the century in Aberdeen, the flow of population into the town to engage in industrial work swamped the relief system, and it was necessary to consolidate voluntary charities into a United Fund which was administered by the magistrates and town council with members of the Kirk Session and managers included on a committee. By 1838 in Aberdeen a compulsory poor rate was levied on owners and occupiers.

This was the background to the "norms" which were suggested in the 'Old Scots Poor Law'. There was no relief except for the permanently disabled, no compulsory assessment, and it became a system which depended upon the labour force to fund its own benefits.

A pamphlet written in 1840 by Dr W P Alison, 'Observations on the Management of The Poor in Scotland', denounced the inhumanity and inadequacy of the system. He stated that Scotland spent 1/3d a head of population on relief, whilst in Holland it was 4/4d, and in France 10/-.

The Church soon lost its influence in the distribution of poor relief, for the Disruption divided it, and it could no longer claim to be the primary agent in caring for the poor. Statutory bodies were created in 1845, and whilst it was an improvement, it was not until after the First World War that legislation was passed in Parliament which went a long way to satisfying the needs of the poor.

(ii) Attitudes

Whilst the Church of Scotland prior to 1843 could claim to be national and territorial Church, after 1843, it could only claim to speak for its members who remained 'in' after the Disruption. The 'Auld Kirk' might make claim to be the Kirk of John Knox, as indeed Chalmers did for the Free Church, but both Churches embraced the attitudes of the economic system that Adam Smith had written about in 'The Wealth of Nations'. The Victorians had created industrial greatness, a rigid class structure, and a great deal of poverty. The work ethic suggested that if you were poor, then it must be the result of laziness and improvidence. The opportunity was available for all men to thrive, and pauperism was a sin, which deserved punishment instead of charity.

This judgemental attitude stemmed from an underlying theology which condemned the people for their sins, but was unable to realise that the society which created intolerable social conditions was to blame.

Although it was a changing period in theological understanding, the Calvinism of the past, with an evangelical face, set in the midst of Victorian triumphalism led to the condemnation of the working classes, instead of their uplifting. There was no attempt to understand the economic forces, or the

role of the state, but instead the Church was a captive of the age, and was unable to disentangle itself from the ongoing glories of the Empire. Instead of being a transforming force it assented to the prevailing conditions.

This attitude is reflected in the Reports of The Christian Life and Work Committee, as well as others related to this period.

In 1887 the Christian Life and Work Committee asked a question concerning church connection in the following terms -

"In the event of any considerable part of the population so situated being of one class (as example farm servants, miners or workers in public works) please to state to what special cause you refer their want of Church connection".

(General Assembly Reports, 1887, Christian Life and Work Committee) P.447

The answers to queries like this always reflected upon the working classes who were outside the influences of the Church, and who had little intention of re-joining it. Miners and farm servants gave cause for concern because few of them in any way related to the Church, and would be embarrassed by its attitudes to their life style.

A few lone voices suggested that at the root of the problem was a church which had strayed away from Christian compassion. Patrick Brewster, minister of the second

charge of Paisley Abbey, accused the wealthier classes of being unchristian, and ignoring the exercise of Christlikeness to the whole of society.

"Brewster hurled in the face of an early Victorian bourgeoisie the very different social vision of John Knox and the Fathers of the Scottish Reformation, as well as the organic view of society explicit in the writings of the Covenanters of the Scottish revolution of the seventeenth century. By and large Brewster's views made as few converts as one might expect"

('An Economic History of Modern Scotland' Lenman
P 165)

If the attitude of the Church to the economic theory which created the poverty of industrial Scotland was one of acceptance, then it could be stated that the attitude of the Committees reporting social conditions during 1870 - 1914 to the Trade Union and Labour Movement was one of passive resistance.

Throughout the period, organised Labour progressed slowly to create a representative movement which fought for better wages and living conditions. There is no mention of this in the Christian Life and Work Committee Reports, and only one mention in the Commission on The Religious Condition of The People of Scotland, when the Commission were visiting a Presbytery during a time of industrial action. However, there was a slow awakening to the facts of intolerable conditions for the labour force, and a need for legislation to create better conditions. This

acknowledgement that legislation was required did not appear until the 1890's when The Report on Non-Church-Going, the forerunner to the Commission on The Religious Condition of The People, suggests that the 'Great Increase of Sunday Labour in recent years has injuriously affected the religious and social conditions of many of the working classes'. This theme is continued in the Commission Reports -

"In the prosecution of its work, the Commission has been constantly reminded of two things. It has been reminded that the religious condition of the people cannot be dissociated from the issues which relate to social and personal well being."

(General Assembly Reports, 1892, Report of the
Commission on the Religious Condition of the People
P 997)

In 1894 it was concerned with the needs of the farm servants, and commended any legislation that county councils and landed proprietors would pass to better the conditions of 'this most important and derserving class of people'. Two years later the miners were mentioned in a similar manner -

"Let justice be done to the better traits of the mining population. Those who tail below the earth's surface for so long a period of the day are entitled to

sympathy; and they command respect for the helpfulness and kindness which they show in time of distress".

(General Assembly Reports, 1896 Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People P 800)

The Social Work Committee, which was a relative new comer to the field, suggested in 1908 that the Church should be arousing public opinion upon all the questions of 'sweating, unemployment, housing' By 1909 it was overwhelmed with cries for assistance, and was quite willing to assist the deserving poor, but had no time for 'professional tramps, loafers and wastrels. The State must deal with those in detention colonies on the lines laid down by the Poor Law Commission Report'.

During this period the development of the Trade Union Movement progressed in Scotland. It progressed along the lines of local societies of workers, who eventually formed themselves into federal groups. They lacked the centralised policy of the Unions in England, and suffered because of this. In the 1880s the growth of the labour movement in Scotland resulted in the Operative Bakers' Scottish National Federal Union (1886), the Scottish National Federation of House and Ship Painters in 1887, the Scottish National Operative Plasterers' Federal Union in 1888, and the Associated Carpenters and Joiners' Society. In 1897 the STUC was formed, but there was the distinct impression that Scotland was unable to organise itself in any comparable way with England. Mrs Beatrice Webb visited Glasgow in

August 1882 and then made the following comment in her diary

"I leave Glasgow with no regrets. The working-men leaders here are an uninteresting lot; without enthusiasm or much intelligence. The Scottish nature does not lend itself to combination; the strong men seek to rise and push for themselves and not to serve others. And apparently the Co-operators have absorbed the finer intelligence and warmer hearts among the Scotch working men of the official cast"

(B Webb, 'Our Partnership'

quoted from 'Trades Councils in The Labour Movement in Nineteenth Century Scotland'

W Hamish Fraser, in 'Essays in Scottish Labour History' ed Ian Macdougall).

There was no attempt by the Auld Kirk to identify with the rise of the labour movements, and by 1914 the demonstrations of the workers in Glasgow had embraced the name of 'Red Clydeside'.

"Much of what is distinctive about the labour history of Glasgow can be explained by the way in which over the half-century before 1914 the city, like a vast dirty blotting paper, had sopped up the flow of immigrants from the Scottish highlands and from Ireland; Celtic fire and spirit, and, be it said, Celtic parochialism, coexisted with lowland Scottish caution and rationality. Here there had been sympathetic ears enough for the industrial unionism

propagated by the Irish republican, James Connolly, whose party, the Socialist Labour Party, though numerically tiny, had important leaders in the Clyde engineering shops, men like Arthur McManus, J W Muir, and David Kirkwood, the last named the prototype of the hard-headed lowland Scot. The Socialist Labour Party was the twin child of Britain's first Marxist political party, the Social Democratic Federation (founded 1884). The other twin was the British Socialist Party, whose most active members in the Glasgow area were William Gallacher (son of a highland father and an Irish mother) and John McLean, a schoolmaster who did more than any other single person to spread the fundamental doctrines of Marxism throughout the west of Scotland. At the same time there was a strong tradition of democratic socialism stemming from Keir Hardie's Scottish Labour Party of the 1880s, merged in 1893 into the Independent Labour Party (ILP). The ILP, itself the most important component part of the ramshackle structure which the Labour Party then was ('the Labour Party is a jelly-fish, the ILP its backbone' was a later and less kind metaphor), was also the most important Labour political organisation on Clydeside, despite the fact that it drew most of its membership from the craftsmen, small tradesmen, school-teachers and white-collar workers rather than from the engineers and more characteristic industrial workers. The most important figure in the Glasgow ILP was an Irish-born Catholic, John Wheatley, a chubby owl behind his pebble-lens spectacles, who, after working in the Lanarkshire coal-pits as a boy, had built up a small publishing business of his own. Although the different sects slanged each other

in public, there was a deeper inter-dependence. One of John McLean's pupils, James Maxton, spent a lifetime in the ILP; Kirkwood, shortly after the outbreak of war, was persuaded by Wheatley to leave the BSP for the ILP. Coherence was given to a movement which might otherwise have been fragmented among the different factories and workshops by the existence of vigilance committees whose prime function was to maintain a high level of trade union membership, but which tended to be staffed by the more politically conscious figures."

('The Deluge. British Society and the First
World War' A Marwick pp 70 - 71)

The Church had never become a voice for the poor, it had sold its birthright to the Socialist Party which had grown up in the slums of industrial Glasgow and identified with the workers. Its attempts to reverse the situation had come too late, and were ineffective.

Its Social Work programme was small and inadequate, and was motivated to help only the 'deserving poor' - an adjective which discriminated and judged those that were in need. It could only serve a small number of people, and whilst it was satisfactory for the fortunate few who obtained help, it remained on the periphery of a vast social problem which only political action could change by legislation.

The social consciousness of the Church had awakened too late to provide any adequate solution.

Marshall Lang in his Baird Lecture of 1901 wrote.

"No one can attach himself temporarily to a crowd on any of our public thoroughfares where Socialist orators are haranguing their audiences, without finding a strong tendency to pass unlimited censure on the Church, either for apathy towards the social problem or positive neglect of doing anything to help towards its practical solution. It is continually said that the Church is the upholder of capitalism, of the upper classes, of vested interests, of monopolies, and of all that is bad of that kind".

It was not that the people had deserted the Church, it was the Church that had deserted the people, and left them to be manipulated by economic and industrial forces which they were unable to contend with, and which the Church had assented to.

The gospel was for the poor but the Church had lost the ability to relate the message of the Kingdom of God to the people. Instead it was seen as part of the opposition to the freedom of the working class, and was identified with the rich.

Professor Charteris was criticised for spending too much time with his mission work in the Pleasance, and too little of his time considering the developments in Biblical Criticism which were to change the attitude of the Church to the faith. From an academic viewpoint the criticism may be justified, but he was one of several, isolated voices

who were determined to renew the Auld Kirk, and attempt a programme of evangelical and social work which in a limited way assisted the poor.

A greater criticism must be made of the Church during the 18th and 19th centuries for being unable to question the whole industrial process, and for its inability to condemn the degradation of man. Instead it defended the use of labour, and accepted that 'work' was of a divine nature, sanctifying the capitalist system, and regarding progress as the acceptance of Victorian values.

With the experience of hindsight it is possible to see the Church as a defender not of the poor but as a willing party to their exploitation. It was impossible for the Church to stand back from the age, and instead it re-enforced the Protestant ethic of market force values, and the purchase of wealth. It had become imprisoned by its doctrine, overtaken by an industrial revolution which overwhelmed its structure, and ostracised by the very people that required the insights and vision of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

"Always man is seeking the Promised Land. Always the Vision arises on the horizon. Always, therefore he is sailing uncharted seas in search of Utopia. And the Utopians are the real founders of scientific society; the real founders of a real world; a world that will one day be an abode of fairness and beauty of all mankind.

It was a Vision that inspired Isaiah to prophesy the

triumph of righteousness. He was scorned and rejected. It was Vision that led Jesus to the Cross. He also was despised, till at last he was deified and in the deification his Vision became the stock in trade of priests. To-day those of us who think, are scornful of that Vision, debased into priesthood. Yet behind the imposture is the history of righteousness in poverty and misery, opposing the false realities of purple and fine linen, and the alleged riches of life".

('Guy Alfred Aldred Anti-Parliamentarian
1886 - 1963; A Memoir'

John T Caldwell from 'Essays in Scottish Labour
History' ed by Ian Macdougall).

(iii) The Church - A Community of Privilege

It is important that the Church of the present should learn from the experience of the Church in the past, so that it may be guided by its successes and warned by its failures.

When the Christian Life and Work Committee embarked upon its remit of re-structuring and evangelism, it interpreted its role as one of bringing the people back to the pew. If they returned, and the Gospel was preached faithfully, then many of the social ills would be cured. Howie uses the illustration -

"When a boy in the highlands, I used to get a shilling a day for raising the game, and since I have been brought to Christ I have felt that it is my work to raise the game. Be sure, sir, when the game is raised that you take aim".

This 'taking aim' states clearly how the majority of the ministers in the Churches throughout Scotland felt during this period. It assumed that many of the problems of society were the result of back-sliding from the Church, and if everyone attended, then intemperance, immorality, and even bad housing conditions would be solved.

Interpreting the Gospel for the age was to see the

Church as the Kingdom of God, a community on earth which possessed the answers to individual salvation and social righteousness. Victorian values of thrift, morality for the lower orders, and hard work, were seen as Christian values. The Monarchy, The Empire and The Church represented a trinity of triumphalism identified with God's Kingdom on earth.

It was the identification of the Church too closely with the state that led to its inability to speak for the poor. Once it accepted the values of the state, and assented to its goals, then it remained unable to stand back in judgement upon the society of which it was an essential part.

Schleiermacher wrote in his speech 'Association in Religion'

"As soon as a prince declared a church to be a community with special privileges, a distinguished member of the civil order, the corruption of that church was begun and almost irrevocably decided". (P167)

"If it is the interest of the proud, the ambitious, the covetous, the intriguing to press into the Church, where otherwise they would have felt only the bitterest ennui, and if they begin to pretend interest and intelligence in holy things to gain the earthly reward, how can the truly religious escape subjection" (P 168)

(Both quoted in 'The Church. Its Changing Image through Twenty Centuries Vol 2. Eric G Jay)

Charteris in his Baird Lecture (1887) suggested that the Church instead of being separate from the world, was "taking her tone from the world", but he did not develop his understanding of this phrase, apart from in a pietistic explanation of the church being against "drunkenness", "uncleaness", "materialism" and "class war". The church, he suggested "has never been an attraction when she ceased to be spiritual",

Perhaps his attitude to the Monarchy and the nobility tell us a great deal about his understanding of Church/State relationships -

"It is a great thing to have upon the throne of this kingdom and empire a sovereign who appreciates the Presbyterian service and loves the Church of Scotland. She is the first sovereign of whom this can be said. She is not isolated from the ancient nobility of the realm; and I may venture to correct a common misapprehension by saying - not without inquiry-that at this present time the greater number of the Scottish nobility are members or adherents of the Church of Scotland. As they take their rightful place among the people, and at their head, they may greatly accelerate the healing of the breach between classes, and promote a healthy outcome of the unmistakable social tendency of national politics. "

('The Life of A H Charteris')

The Rev Hon Arthur Gordon MA P 392)

It was this closeness to the monarchy and the agencies of Empire that placed the church in a position of assent to expansion and power. And it was this assent which meant it saw its role as a partner in the offices of state, and confirmed its position to the working classes as a community of privilege.

Throughout the Reports this was confirmed, and the underlying assumption was that the poor deserved their lot because they were lazy, drank too much, and were work shy. The conditions of poverty were deserved, in the same way as the conditions of the nobility or the merchant class.

The Church was unable to identify the social issues which created the conditions of poverty. Nor was it able to offer a gospel which related in any way to the age. What it offered was a pietism which offered hope to a few through its social work agencies. It was this inability to preach the gospel to the social order which left the church on the fringe of life. It was seen as irrelevant to the poor, a bastion of privilege and middle class aspirations.

Charteris and The Christian Life and Work Committee tried hard to bridge the gap, and created a church structure which had the potential to 'break out' from its bondage of privilege. It failed, and by 1914 the social struggle which took place for the rights of the poor was based on the teachings of Marx and not of Jesus. That situation remains to the present day.

Within this century the Church has lost the working class completely, and this is seen by the impact of the Church on the large housing estates on the outskirts of the cities. Present as an institution, with its minister, it is seen as irrelevant to the needs of the people, apart from perhaps the Sunday School.

There have been efforts to re-gain the masses - The Baillie Report and The Committee of Forty, but they have failed to take the Church out of its institutional role to be the evangel of the people.

It is the inability of the Church to separate itself from privilege that declares irrelevant anything it has to say about unemployment, nuclear weapons, and the poor. For it is impossible to cry out for justice, when traditionally it has been seen as part of the instrument of injustice.

(iv) The Church - A Community for The World

The actions of the Church during the period 1870 - 1914, and its inability to relate to the situation of the age, raises the question about the true nature of the Church.

It is in the words of Charteris -

"a society of redeemed men and women, bonded to-gether to continue and extend Christ's redeeming work upon the earth, bringing sight to the blind, freedom to the captive, the Gospel of God's love to the poor ('Baird Lecture' P 237)

or is it more than this?.

The Charteris theology of the Church is based upon its existence as a community of individuals who to-gether act as the redeemed, and who minister within the world. The purpose of the Church, according to this theological insight, is to remain apart from the world, because the world is essentially a wicked place, and the Church represents that which is good, pure and clean. The Church is seen as separate from the world, a community who serve the true light -

"But woe betides the Church of Christ when eager hearts cannot distinguish between it and the world that lieth in wickedness, when it does not show forth the praises of Him who called its members

out of darkness into His marvellous light".

('Baird Lecture' P 236)

When the Church is seen as a community separate from the world, it will only be able to act within the context of its own institution. What it says, and what it does, will only be relevant to those who are within, and those without will regard it as an exclusive group who are detached from the main thrust of the world's affairs. This evangelical view of the Church can only limit and restrict its horizons, and is very different from the Church that the Reformers envisaged.

The Reformed position has been re-stated by Karl Barth

"The community of Jesus Christ is for the world, ie for each and every man In this way it also exists for God..... First and supremely it is God who exists for the world. And since the community of Jesus Christ exists first and supremely for God, it has no option but in its own manner and place to exist for the world. How else could it exist for God?"

('Church Dogmatics' - Karl Barth P 762)

The Church is a community which must live its life within the world, and has an obligation to the world, although it need not conform to it. The Church does not rule the world, but co-operates with God in his work. It is impossible for the Church to withdraw from the world, and

it does justice to its task only if it addresses every man as "one who will be within even though he is now without, as one who is called to the service of God and is open to this future. It does not do justice to its task if it gives up one whom God does not give up".

('The Church. Its Changing Image Through Twenty Centuries' Eric G Jay, Vol 2 P 152)

The Church must never become a privileged group, but it must always be the servant of its Master and Lord.

In retrospect, it is easy to suggest that Charteris was incorrect in his approach, and limited his objectives to caring for the 'deserving poor'. He was imprisoned by his age, and at a time when the State was progressing in wealth, but cared little for the underprivileged in society, he led the Church of Scotland forward in a programme of social concern. That the Church, as a whole, was unable to take a positive stand against the exploitation of the working force, and the terrible living conditions is a tragedy, but it is one where all must share the consequences, just as all accept the praise for the work of the "raw preacher thrust for party ends into the Professor's Chair".

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